A NEW

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

DESCENT of the ROMANS,

TO THE

DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED

To his present Majesty, GEORGE III.

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HISTORY *is philosophy teaching by examples.*
Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hali.

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THE

History of ENGLAND.

The History of HAROLD II. *continued.*

THOUGH they were weakened considerably by their repeated losses, yet the small remains of the English still stood their ground on the hill, and opposed the enemy with a resolution, which seemed to show that they had made choice of that place for an honourable death, and were determined to sell their lives very dearly. William, at this juncture observing that they secured themselves by their shields

from ſuch of the arrows as were ſhot in a direct line, ordered his archers to ſhoot them ſo that they might wound obliquely in their deſcent. This expedient had its deſired effect; for by theſe means, whilſt the foremoſt of the Engliſh were fighting hand to hand with the Normans, thoſe in the rear were galled by the arrows which poured down upon them from a more diſtant enemy, againſt whom they could not defend themſelves. Harold, who, during the whole engagement, had performed the office of a brave general, and even acted the part of a common ſoldier, killing all that durſt approach him, ſignalized himſelf in an extraordinary manner on this emergence, by going about from rank to rank, animating his men by his own example, ſending ſuccours to ſuch as were in diſtreſs, and expoſing his perſon as much as the meaneſt ſoldier in his army. Towards the cloſe of the day Harold received a ſhot from an arrow in his left eye, which piercing into his brain killed him on the ſpot. His brothers Gyrth, and Leofwin, who ſaw him fall, animated the drooping courage of the Engliſh, and guarded the royal ſtandard, till they fell by the attacks of twenty Normans, who entered into a confederacy either to take it, or die in the attempt. Though moſt of them periſhed in this deſperate

The Battle of Hastings.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

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perate enterprize, yet the remainder carried their point, and having pulled Harold's ſtandard down, erected William's in its ſtead.

The Engliſh, who had continued unbroken during the life of Harold, no ſooner heard of his death than they quitted the hill, fled in great confuſion, and were purſued by the enemy, even after the night had begun. The darkneſs however, which favoured their retreat, was very fatal to the Normans, who, * in the eagerneſs of their purſuit, fell into ditches, and loſt a great number both of horſe and foot. This incident re-animating the courage of the vanquiſhed, they rallied, attacked their purſuers, and made a terrible ſlaughter. Engenouf, baron de l'Aigle, loſt his life in the combat, which was ſo warm that Euſtace, count of Boulogne, was for ſounding a retreat; when William came up with ſuccours, imagining that the Engliſh had been joined by ſome reinforcement. Euſtace, terrified with the bravery and impetuoſity of the Engliſh, was endeavouring to diſuade the duke from expoſing himſelf to the hazard of a night-engagement, when he received a blow between his ſhoulders, which forced the blood from his noſe and his mouth. This circumſtance counteracted all the earl's arguments, and determined

* From the manuſcript hiſtory of Battle Abbey in the Cottonian collection, marked Domitian, A. 2.

mined the duke to proſecute his victory, till he had driven the enemy from all the ditches, and diſperſed them ſo, that it was not eaſy for them to rally again. Never was a battle fought with more reſolution, nor more unremitted ardour than this. It had begun at † ſeven in the morning, and continued till duſk. William himſelf was in danger ſeveral times, having no leſs than two horſes killed under him, and was obliged often to fight on foot. He loſt no leſs than ſix thouſand of his beſt troops in the engagement: the loſs of the Engliſh amounted to a far greater number, being calculated at no leſs than ſixty-ſeven thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-four.

The duke, aſſured of his victory, ordered his whole army to fall on their knees and return thanks to heaven for their ſucceſs; after which, he pitched his tent among the dead, and there paſſed the remainder of the night. The next day his ſoldiers were employed in burying the dead, and leave was given to the Engliſh to perform the ſame offices to the ſlain.

The mother of Harold, who was inconſolable for the death of her ſon, ſent Oſgood and Oſric, two monks belonging to Waltham, to offer William vaſt ſum of money for the

† This is Cambden's account, Carte ſays it began at nine.

the king's body, in order for its ‡ being interred. The duke received them with a magnanimity that reflected honour upon his victory, and, conſenting to their requeſt, though he refuſed their money, gave them leave to ſearch for Harold's body among the ſlain. The corps was ſo prodigiouſly diſfigured by the wounds which Harold had received during the engagement, and was mangled ſo much after his death, that the monks were unable to diſcover it. § One Edgitha, whom Harold had formerly kept as a miſtreſs, being ſent for on this occaſion, was employed to ſearch after the royal corps, and found it by means of a ſecret mark, which was known to none but herſelf. When it was brought to William, he took notice of a wound on the thigh which ſeemed to have been given after Harold was dead; and, on enquiry, the perſon who committed this act of barbarity, was diſcovered and caſhiered. After this, the corps was put into a coffin, and being ſolemnly attended by the Norman barons to Battle-

‡ From a manuſcript in the Cottonian collection, marked *Julius*, D. 6. and ſupported by Speed, who likewiſe gives us the ſpeech they made on this occaſion, together with the duke's anſwer; but as they both ſeem to carry very few marks of authenticity, and have nothing very ſtriking in them, they are omitted to make room for ſomething more intereſting.

§ On account of her extraordinary beauty, ſhe was ſurnamed *Swanſhals*, or *Swan's neck*.

Battle-bridge, was there met by the Engliſh nobility, who conveyed it to Waltham, where it was ‖ interred with great funeral pomp.

Harold was in his perſon comely, and in his mien diſcovered a kind of haughtineſs, that demanded reſpect, while it inſpired terrour. His preſence carried in it ſomething of majeſty, which ſtole upon the mind of the ſpectator before he was aware, and engaged his veneration, he knew not how. While a private man, he gained the love and eſteem of all the Engliſh, and was guilty of no action during his ſhort reign, that ought juſtly to have forfeited their eſteem. Thoſe who, ſay, that he would have been more worthy of the crown, if he had been leſs forward in obtaining it, or accuſe him of being

‖ Notwithſtanding Harold was thus publickly interred in the abbey, which he founded; Knyghton aſſerts, from Giraldus Cambrenſis, that he was not ſlain in the battle, but retired privately, with the loſs of his eye, which was wounded by the arrow, and lived like an anchoret ſeveral years afterwards in a cell near St. John's Church at Cheſter. This odd ſtory he pretends to ſupport by adding, that the fact was diſcovered by Harold himſelf to his confeſſor, juſt before he died; and that it was a circumſtance univerſally believed by the inhabitants of thoſe parts, who ſhewed the tomb, wherein he laid interred, even at the time in which he wrote. Tyrrel judiciouſly obviates the difficulties, which might be ſtarted from Knyghton's allegation, by granting the tomb might have been made for a perſon, who aſſumed the name of Harold, and, in proceſs of time, might have been believed to be that of the real monarch, *Tyrrel's hiſt.* vol. 1. p. 114.

being unjuſt in ſnatching it from Edward Atheling, ſeem to forget the circumſtances of the nation, when he aſcended the throne. William, at that time, laid a claim to the crown from the pretended will of Edward, and ſtrengthened his claim by the oath which he extorted from Harold, at a time when it was impoſſible for him to avoid taking it; they forget likewiſe the claim of Harold Harfagar, and the forces he made a deſcent with, in order to enforce his pretenſions; in a word, they forget the infancy and the character of Edgar Atheling, whoſe preferment would have involved the kingdom in miſery. Had Harold relinquiſh'd the crown to Edgar, it is probable that Harfagar, or William, would ſoon have wreſted it from him: had either of them prevailed, this nation muſt have been a province to ſome foreign kingdom, and both the treaſure of the natives, and all poſts of honour or profit engroſſed by the creatures of a foreign prince. Yet let us aſk, in what reſpect Harold made too much haſte to aſcend the throne? Did he pack an aſſembly; did he intimidate the nobility to vote for him? Had not his valour, his zeal for the intereſt of his country, his noble ſtand againſt the encroachments of foreigners, and his wiſe conduct recommended him, as a perſon well * "qualified to wield

* This is Dr. Smollet's expreſſion, who has drawn the character of this king with no leſs elegance than candour.

wield the sceptre with reputation to himself, and happiness to his subjects?" Why then need we assign any other cause for his election? If the electors were free, their choice of him was superior to any claim that could be urged by any other person: if they were not free, where is the author who has been able to produce one instance of Harold's biassing a single vote in his favour? The Norman writers, we must confess, have blackened his character in order to brighten that of the Conqueror. But if a humane disposition, an affable behaviour, a wise conduct, an unlimited generosity, and an invincible courage, could recommend any monarch to our esteem, they ought to recommend Harold. Had he survived the battle of Hastings, the conqueror had then been shown in his true colours, by the very authors who have been most lavish in his praise. But to set the characters of both these heroes in a proper contrast, we may justly pronounce William to be the conqueror, and, with equal justice, stile Harold the Martyr, of England; since the former showed his power in trampling on the liberties of the English, and the latter sacrificed his life in defending them from the usurpations of foreigners.

BOOK V.

The History of the CHURCH *from the invasion of the* ROMANS *to the* BATTLE *of* HASTINGS.

IN the introduction to this history we have given a succinct account of the religion of the Druids, the first priests and instructors that dwelt among us. When the Romans had extended their conquests, it is more than probable, that their deities were likewise adopted by the Britons, and the two great temples founded in and near this metropolis, * to Apollo and Diana, are no weak proofs in favour of our assertion.

Though

* St. Peter's, Westminster, is built on the same ground as that on which the temple of Apollo formerly stood; and St. Paul's cathedral on the same spot as the temple of Diana.

Though this was the calamitous situation of our ancestors for some time, yet it must be acknowledged that christianity gloried in several illustrious converts among the Britons, at its first appearance. The legendary account of the propagation of the gospel in this island by the apostles themselves, and by Joseph of Arimathea, teems with so many contradictions, that it would be giving it too much credit to endeavour to explode it. Yet it must be owned, that our ancestors embraced the doctrines of the gospel, as soon as any: and what is something very remarkable, two of the most distinguished females, that embraced christianity during the lives of the Apostles, were Britons. Pomponia Græcina, the wife of A. Plautius, was persecuted for professing christianity as early as A. D. 57. and, as Tacitus informs us, was in great danger of loosing her life, for her religion. Claudia Rufina, another British lady, has the honour to be mentioned even by St. Paul himself in his epistle to Timothy; and must have been no less remarkable for her religion, than she was for her beauty, to merit so much notice from an inspired writer.

It is probable that there were particular christians in this island even before this time, as appears from the brass * medal of our

* This curious medal, of which we have given a print in

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Engraved for Rider's History of England.

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ur Saviour, which was lately found among he ruins of the chief druids reſidence in Angleſey, with the following Hebrew legend: "This is Jeſus Chriſt the mediator r reconciler." This curious relick very oſſibly belonged to ſome chriſtian who was murdered in this iſland before the druids were extirpated by Suetonius in A. D. 61.

However early chriſtianity might be introduced into this kingdom, the firſt converts were not made by miſſions, or by the preaching of the apoſtles themſelves. Rome was

n the plate facing this page, was found by Mr. Rowands, and being ſent by him to Mr Llwhyd, keeper of he Aſhmolean Muſeum in Oxford, was unfortunately oſt by the way. It was dug up in the year 1702 at the ound cirque in Bryn Gwyn, ſituated in the *Tre'r Drew*, or the Druids town in Angleſey. On one ſide it had the figure of a head exactly anſwering the deſcription given of our Saviour's perſon by Publius Lentulus, and on the reverſe the following legend, or inſcription, in Hebrew characters; *Jeſchuah, or Jeſchuang gibbor Meſchiah hazeh v' Adam joked*, Jeſus the great Meſſias and Man-mediator. As we have ſaid that the profile on the medal correſponded with the deſcription given by Lentulus, to the emperor Tiberius; the curious reader may conceive ſome faint Idea of that deſcription from this tranſlation. "His aſpect was engaging on account of its mildneſs, and no leſs awful for its dignity; his hair, which was of a chefnut colour, hung ſtrait as far as his ears, from whence it ſuſpended in ringlets as low as his ſhoulders; on the top of his head it was divided after the manner of the Nazarites; his forehead was high, and without wrinkles; his eyes were of a blue colour and very bright; his

noſe

at that time as much the center of politeneſs as Paris is at preſent, and it was the weakneſs of the Engliſh then, as it is now with reſpect to France, to travel in order to ſhow their taſte. The intercourſe which was by this means opened between the natives of the two nations, might have paved the way for the propagation of chriſtianity, and thoſe who went over purely to embelliſh themſelves, might have returned with a greater embelliſhment than they expected, the pureſt religion that ever was taught.

Beſides this, there was another cauſe which operated ſecretly, and no leſs powerfully towards bleſſing this iſland with the light of the goſpel. The Roman armies contained ſeveral chriſtians, who might probably do all in their power to make the natives as wiſe, as themſelves. Yet this did not amount

noſe and mouth were handſome without fault, and his beard, which was of the ſame colour as his hair, was of a moderate length, and forked." Waſer. De Numm. *Heb.* fol. 63. The repreſentation of this ſacred perſon, which is in the Bodleian library, ſomewhat reſembles that of the medal when compared together; but differs with reſpect to the length and ſhape of the noſe, the form of the beard, and ſeveral other particulars, though taken from a likeneſs engraved in agate, and ſent, as a preſent from the ſultan, for the releaſe of his brother, who was taken priſoner. Leſt the authour ſhould ſubject himſelf to ridicule for mentioning theſe circumſtances, he begs leave to obviate all objections by declaring, that he looks on all ſuch reſemblances of our Lord as ſpurious, though ever ſo much commended.

amount to any thing like a general conversion, the christians were very few in number, and perhaps rather Romans and foreigners than Britons. That this was the true state of Religion in this kingdom is further confirmed from considering, that it was sometime before the apostle's themselves were persuaded that the gentiles were to be admitted into the gospel dispensation, and that even in Gaul itself we hear of no churches being founded before A. D. 177, excepting those of Lyon and Vienna. If christianity did not make its progress beyond the Alps till so late a date, it is highly probable, from the nature of things, that it must have taken up a longer period before it spread so far as Britain; nor indeed can we, with the greatest diligence, trace any sign of a church formed in this island before A. D. 250. The small number of converts could be the only reason assigned for this island's escaping the persecutions, to which the inhabitants on the continent were exposed, and even so low as Diocletian, the christian religion seems to have made but little progress here; as the martyrs who suffered for the sake of its doctrines were very few, and excepting St. Alban, Julius, and Aaron, we can produce scarce any names of note from our martyrology.

Are we then to look on Lucius, who is reported to be the first christian king in this island, as a mere imaginary being, and a

legendary hero? the coins, which are ſtill to be ſeen at the Britiſh muſeum, are a ſtrong proof of the reality of ſuch a monarch; but, at the ſame time, prove that he could not have lived ſo early, as our monkiſh authors aſſert. The coins mentioned have the letters *LVC* for their legend, and, on the reverſe, the ſign of the croſs. Now as the croſs was not ſtamped upon any coin before A. D. 311, it is evident, from the coins themſelves, that Lucius muſt have lived about this time. If we conſider the actions aſcribed to him, ſuch as the founding of ſees, the building of churches, the erecting of ſeminaries of learning, and the eſtabliſhing chriſtianity on the ſame plan, as in other countries, we ſhall find that no time was more proper than this.

‖ Conſtantius Chlorus had put a ſtop to the rage of perſecution in this iſland, and allowed the chriſtians to profeſs their religion without the leaſt diſturbance. On his death, Conſtantine the great, behaved with the ſame lenity towards the profeſſors of chriſtianity, tolerated them in his palace, and afterwards embraced the goſpel himſelf. Ceneau, called Levir Maur by the Britons, from his propagating the light of chriſtianity, and Lucius by the Romans, for the ſame reaſon was uncle to Conſtantine, and conſequently muſt have

‖ Euſeb. chron. and hiſt. eccleſ. lib. viii. cap. 25. de vita Conſtantin. lib. i. c. 12 and 15. Oroſ. hiſt. lib. vii. c. 25. Zoſim. hiſt. lib. ii. Eumen ad Conſt. Aug. paneg.

have had intereſt enough with both the emperors to have obtained leave for theſe marks of his pious munificence. On the whole, no earlier time can, with any probability, be aſſigned for ſo general a converſion, as is ſaid to have happened in the reign of Lucius, than the period in which we have placed it.

The chriſtian religion thus watered by Lucius and his nephew Conſtantine the great, yielded a proportionable increaſe; and that it was firmly eſtabliſhed in this iſland, appears from the hiſtory of the council of * Arles, which was aſſembled on account of the opinion of the † Donatiſts. No leſs than three Engliſh biſhops ſubſcribed their names to this council; who belonged to the

* A. D. 314. † This ſect was ſo denominated from *Donatus* their founder. They had their riſe in Africa in A. D. 311. Cecilian, being elected biſhop of Carthage, was rejected by the people, who ſet up Majorinus in oppoſition to him; *Donatus* inſtead of confirming the election of Cecilian in order to preſerve the peace of the church, confirmed the choice of the people, and ordained Majorinus. The particular tenets of this ſect were, 1. That baptiſm conferred out of the church, i. e. out of their ſect, was null. 2. That there was no church in Africa: all the reſt being proſtitute and erroneous. Donatus ſeems likewiſe to have given into the doctrine of the Arians, with whom he had a cloſe connection; but if we believe St. Auguſtin, his diſciples were free from the errours of their leader in this point.

sees of ‡ York, London, and Lincoln or Colchester.

When the church was troubled with disputes about the true time of celebrating Easter, and was in danger from the propagating of § Arianism, we find that the British prelates

‡ They were Eborius, bishop of York: Restitutus, bishop of London; and Adelfus, bishop of Colchester. Some persons suppose the reading in the manuscript, "Colonia Londinensium," was owing to a mistake of the transcriber, instead of *Colonia* Lindi, i. e. Lincoln. Yet, as the editor of Camden observes, the place might take its name either from its situation, or from its being a colony, called in Latin *colonia*. If we derive the name from the latter "colonia Londinensium" seems to be the true reading. The populousness of London, even in the time of Tacitus, renders it probable that this might have been a colony of Londoners. But if we take the name of the place from its situation, Colchester must have been the bishop's see; because it derives its name from its situation on the river Coln; as an additionary proof of the authenticity of the common reading; we may observe that in the collection of Isidor Mercat. it is read, "ex civitate *Culneâ* Adelfus:" which shows that *Colceaster*, the Saxon name for Colchester, must have been the place of Adelfius's see.

§ This sect was founded by Arius in the beginning of the fourth century, he denied that the son of GOD was consubstantial and coequal with the father; asserting that he was a creature made in time, and out of nothing. His disciples owned that the son was the word; but denied that the word was eternal, asserting that he was only created before all other things. They likewise held that Christ had nothing of man but his flesh, with which the word was joined, and supplied the office of the soul.

prelates attended at the ‖ Nicene council, wherein it appeared that they were orthodox * in both the points, which occaſioned the aſſembling of that ſynod.

† The next public council in which the Engliſh prelates are mentioned was that of Sardis, which was convened, on the frontiers of Thrace and Myſia, on account of Athanaſius, who had been condemned by the eaſtern biſhops. In this period, the Britiſh pre-

‖ A. D. 324

* Conſtant. epiſt. apud. euſeb. vit. conſtant. lib. iii. c. 18.

† Though in this aſſertion, we ſeem to oppoſe Bede's opinion, who ſays that our iſland was infected with the Arian of hereſy which had corrupted the whole world; yet we have ſufficient authority for rejecting his opinion, as Conſtantine the emperor maintains the ſame in his epiſtle, and is ſupported likewiſe by St. Hilary and Athanaſius, who would have otherwiſe been ready enough to have declared the heterodoxy of our natives. Bede's words in the original are "dies feſtos celebrant, ſacra mundo corde atque ore conficiunt, manſitque hæc in eccleſiis chriſti, quæ erant in Britannia, pax, uſque ad tempora Arianæ veſaniæ, quæ corrupto orbe toto, hanc etiam inſulam extra orbem tam longe remotam veneni ſui infecit viroris; & hac quaſi via peſtilentiæ trans oceanum patefacta, non mora, omnis hæreſeos cujuſque, inſulæ novi ſemper aliquid audire gaudenti at nihil certi firmiter obtinenti infudit." Bedæ hiſt. eccleſ. lib. i. c. 8. The royal interpreter tranſlates the above in this manner. "Weorthodan ſwa rigefæſt tacon, and ſymbel dagas mærſedan, and tha godcundan geryn clæna mythe and clænre heortan halgedon and fremedon. Theos ſibb awunade on Criſtes cyrican tha the on Brytene wæron oth tha tide ſe Arrianiſca gedeveolda alus."

prelates ſtill exemplified their orthodoxy, and abſolved Athanaſius, as appears both from the beginning of Athanaſius's ſecond apology, and the Hilary's defence, that was ‡ written about eleven years afterwards.

The Engliſh prelates were not leſs illuſtrious at the council held at Arminum, than they had been at thoſe that preceded. Conſtantius, who convened them, had made all the biſhops an ‖ offer of bearing their charges, but the Gallican and Britiſh prelates, thinking this below their dignity, rejected the emperor's offer and paid their own expences; three however of the Britiſh biſhops were ſo poor, that they were obliged to accept of the emperor's allowance, becauſe they were too conſciencious to live upon their brethren. Though the majority of the aſſembly ran into the errors of Arrian, the Britons ſtill preſerved their orthodoxy, as appears from the * epiſtles of Athanaſius and other biſhops addreſſed to the emperor Jovinian in A. D. 363. Though

‡ A. D. 347. § A. D. 358.

‖ Sulp. ſever. hiſt. lib. ii.

* The words of Athanaſius may be tranſlated thus, "all the prelates who aſſembled at the Nicene council were unanimous in this opinion, and all the churches have confirmed it by their reſpective ſuffrages; namely, thoſe of Spain, *Britain*, &c. the original Greek runs thus, ταυτην πιστιν ωμολογουσαν οι εν Νικαια συνελθοντες πατερες και ταυτην συμψηφα τυγχανουσι πασαι αι κατα τοπον εκκλησιαι αι τε κατα την Σπανιαν και Βρεταννιαν. Athanaſius, in confirmation of his aſſertion, adds,

Though Britain continued untainted all this time, with the hereſy of Arius, yet at laſt it was involved in the general infection about the time of * Gratian. Whether curioſity or piety was the ſtrongeſt motive, it is not eaſy to determine, but one or the other ſeemed to operate very ſtrongly on the imagination of the chriſtians in theſe times, by their undertaking the laborious pilgrimage of a viſit to Jeruſalem, and other parts of the holy land. The Britons, though at ſo great a diſtance, were infected with this pious weakneſs, and are † celebrated, by the writers of thoſe times for this ſignal mark of their chriſtianity.

After a few years had elapſed in theſe demonſtrations of orthodoxy and devotion; the religion of this kingdom was again corrupted by the hereſy of one ‡ Pelagius, whoſe true

adds, "that he was well convinced that theſe were their real ſentiments, and that he had received letters from them to the ſame effect."

* A. D. 378. Uſher. Brit. Eccl. c. 8. p. 106.

† Epiphan. Epiſt. ad Johan. Hieroſol. Pallad. hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 118.

‡ His true name, *Morgan*, derived from the Celtic word *Mor* a ſea, and *gan* which ſignifies *ſprung*, gave riſe to the Latin name Pelagius, by which he is generally known. His tenets, in ſome reſpects, contrary to the very fundamentals of chriſtianity, were, 1. That Adam was created mortal, and would have died, had he not eaten of the forbidden fruit. 2. That Adam's ſin had no effect upon mankind. 3. That the law leads us to heaven

true name was Morgan. His being a Briton recommended his opinions to the notice of his countrymen, and their ſuiting with the corrupt morals of the times, contributed not a little to their propagation. The progreſs

heaven as well as the goſpel. 4. That before the coming of Chriſt men were free from ſin. 5. That infants are born in the ſame ſtate, as Adam was before his fall. 6. That all mankind neither die on account of the fall of Adam, nor riſe on account of the reſurrection of Chriſt. 7. That man is without ſin, and can eaſily keep the commandments of GOD if he will. 8. That infants dying without baptiſm, do not periſh: becauſe they are not born in ſin. 9. That a rich man could not enter the kingdom of heaven unleſs he ſold all he had; and if he did any good work with his riches it would not profit him. 10. That oaths were unlawful in all reſpects, 11. That the church was in this world without ſpot or wrinkle. Dr. Smollet has reduced theſe articles to three, which he has expreſſed after the following manner. "He maintained that man might be righteous with the aſſiſtance of grace, which was beſtowed in proportion to his virtue; that man could arrive at a ſtate of perfection in which he could be no longer ſubject to paſſion or ſin; that there is no original ſin; and that infants dying before baptiſm will not be damned." Theſe doctrines were condemned abroad before they were introduced into this iſland: and even then though enforced with all the rhetoric of Severianus's ſon, met with a cold reception, and though ſupported by arguments too ſubtle to be anſwered by the Britons, were not aſſented to; as appears from Bede, "Hæreſis Pelegiana per Agricolam inlata, Severiani epiſcopi filium fidem Britanniarum fœda peſte commaculaverit. Verum Britannici neque *ſuſcipere* dogma perverſum gratiam Chriſti blaſphemando *ulla tenus* vellent." BED. hiſt. eccles. lib. II. c. 7.

greſs of this hereſy, though not general, was enough to alarm the Gallican church to ſuch a degree that they ſent over Lupus and Germanus, two eminent biſhops, to reclaim the perverted and eſtabliſh the orthodox. The ſucceſs of their miſſion was ſuch as might be expected from men of their character and abilities; the Pelagians were ſilenced by them at a public diſputation carried on at Verolam: and the truth of the goſpel being preached by them, both in the ſtreets and fields, gained ſuch ground, that the hereſy was quite extirpated.

No * ſooner were Germanus and Lupus departed than Pelagianiſm revived, and on the application of the Britiſh clergy Germanus returned, attended by Severus biſhop of Triers. If we may credit Bede, on their arrival they performed ſuch a remarkable cure on the ſon of one Elaf a nobleman, that the ſpectators, confirmed in the authenticity of their miſſion, rejected the doctrines of Pelagius, and baniſhed the propagators from the iſland.

As learning is the beſt preſervative againſt errours, Germanus inſtituted ſchools in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, which were ſuperintended by perſons famous for their learning and their piety. One of theſe ſeminaries, which was founded at Landaff, was under

* About A. D. 406.

under the direction of ‡ Dubricius; another was taught by one Daniel; and a third, at Lantuit in Glamorganshire, was conducted by Iltyt, who was honoured with the education of the principal nobility. At this period our island was no less famous for its learning than for its religion.

Besides these seminaries that of Bangor, called by the Welch *Banchor vaur*, i. e. Bangor the great, on account of its dimensions and the number of its votaries; it afforded several great luminaries to the church, and contained no less than two thousand one hundred monks, who maintained themselves by the labour of their hands: one hundred were appointed to perform divine service at one time, and were succeeded by the same number in rotation, so that it continued all day long without the least intermission. This celebrated monastery stood in a place named *Maelor*

‡ He was elected bishop of Landaff by Maurice, king of South Wales, consecrated by Germanus and Lupus, and was a person very famous for his learning and exemplary for his piety; as appears from the old manuscript history of the church of Landaff. He had one of his seminaries on the river Wey, and another at Moshros; his disciples are calculated at no less than one thousand, among which were St. Theliaus, Samson, Idanus, and other persons of note. Iltyt, was by no means less famous for the number or quality of his scholars, among these were likewise Samson, archbishop of Dole in Britain, and Paul, bishop of the united sees of Treguier, St. Pol, and St. Briew.

Maelor Saesnig by the Welch; but is at present reduced to such a ruinous condition that the north gate, named Port hogan, and the southern called Port Clais are the only remains now standing.

The first service of the British churches was both rude and vague, but when Germanus and Lupus came over it was fixed and determined, by their introducing the worship of the Gallican at that time very different from the ritual of the Romish Church.

The first British or Welch council, was assembled to take cognizance of Vortigern's conduct, after he had * been doomed to destruction by the prophecies of Merlin, and they seem to have set him aside and to have raised Aurelius Ambrosius to the throne by their sole influence and authority.

† The next occasion for a synod was the election and consecration of Dubricius and Theliaus to the sees of Caerleon and Landaff.

The third general council was convened to confirm the right of Arthur, to whom they swore allegiance. Immediately after this assembly, Dubricius retired to a kind of an hermitage in the isle of Bardsey, and was succeeded in his see by St. David, who was educated by Paulinus, a disciple of Germanus, and was consecrated at the same

*A. D. 465. † A. D. 516.

time with Elaus and Theliaus, by the patriarch of Jeruſalem, which place was at that time much reſorted to by the Britons.

The ‡ fourth ſynod was held at a place called Llhandewy, in the church of St. David at Breury in order to ſtop the progreſs of Pelagianiſm, which revived and gained conſiderable ground in the iſland. The concourſe of biſhops on this occaſion was incredibly great, and St. David oppoſed the hereſy with ſo much ſtrength of argument and elegance of rhetoric, as in a great meaſure extinguiſhed it in the weſtern parts. On this occaſion, David was elected metropolitan of all Wales.

The fifth ſynod we ſhall mention ſerves to ſhow the influence which the clergy had obtained in ſecular affairs, and the juriſdiction they pretended to over princes themſelves. Maurice king of Glomorganſhire, and Cynetu, another petty prince, had ſworn a mutual peace on the relics of the ſaints of Landaff; but the former, notwithſtanding his oath, had ſlain Cynetu in a treacherous manner. The clergy, who looked upon themſelves as concerned in vindicating the ſacredneſs of oaths, on this occaſion called a ſynod, in which Odoceus the ſucceſſor of Theliaus preſided, and in a full aſſembly excommunicated Maurice for his murder and perjury, concluding his ſentence with an

‡ A. D. 519.

an imprecation that his days might be few, his children orphans and his wife a widow. The king finding himself deserted by his subjects in consequence of his sentence made his submission to the bishop, who absolved him from his excommunication, on condition of his fasting, praying, and giving alms.

Notwithstanding this care of the primitive christians to preserve their faith free from corruption, and conform their lives to the rigour of the gospel precepts; yet in the fifth century the discipline of the christians were so lax, that their vices were notorious almost all over the world. The Britons rescued by the hand of providence from the rage of famine, immersed themselves in every degree of luxury and practised every kind of vice. The amiableness of virtue instead of alluring them with its charms, only served to render its votaries unhappy. A person remarkable for his integrity was the object of hatred, and persecuted as a traitour, and public incendiary. The clergy were no more free from faults than the laity, and instead of restraining vice by their examples, recommended it by their practice. Their characteristics were intemperance, litigiousness, avarice, envy, and insolence. As a scourge for this universal depravity, the nation was thinned by a dreadful pestilence, and the natives swept away in such multitudes, that those who survived were not sufficient

ficient to bury the dead. Yet in the midſt of this terrible calamity, they ſtill continued in their vices, and though heaven called them ſo loudly to repent, perſiſted in their impenitence. Gildas and Bede, who have given us the picture of theſe times, add, that the arrival of the Saxons was a puniſhment from heaven, for the ſins of the nation. If this conjecture be right, the corruption of the age muſt have been very great; for their calamities were ſingular. "The whole iſland, from ſea to ſea, ſeemed to be one continued conflagration, houſes, public buildings, and temples were buried in their own ruins; the prieſts were murdered on the altars; the biſhop and his flock periſhed in one promiſcuous fate; ſome were driven to the mountains, and there maſſacred with the greateſt barbarity, and their bodies expoſed without interment. Thoſe who at firſt eſcaped the barbarities of the Saxons, were obliged to leave their faſtneſſes by famine, and ſubmit to the will of the victors, while others, who dreaded their fury and ſcorned their ſervice, abandoned their country, and fled into foreign parts for refuge.

Though * the venerable writer ſeems to hint, that the Britons ſuffered theſe calamities on account of their religion, yet, when they are conſidered impartially, they ſeem to be no more than the uſual effects of a ſavage

* Bede, lib. 1. c. 15.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THOR.

Engravd for Rider's History of England.

ſavage conqueror. As a confirmation of this aſſertion, we will venture to ſay, that the moſt critical reader, will not be able to find a ſingle inſtance, of a perſon's being put to death by the Saxons merely becauſe he was a chriſtian.

Though the Saxons were free from the crime of perſecution, they were at their firſt arrival no friends to chriſtianity. They had a religion of their own, which conſiſted in the worſhip of † deified heroes, ſome of which they borrowed from the neighbouring nations, while the others were the products of their own country.

The names of their chief deities were, the ſun, moon, the celebrated Woden and his ſon Thor, his wife Friga or Fræa, Tuiſco, Theutates, Heſus, and Tharamis. Woden, or Odin, was god of war, Thor was the Saxon Jupiter and preſided over the ſtorms, winds, ſhowers and fair weather, Fræa, or Friga, was, like the Roman Venus, the goddeſs of pleaſure. The two firſt days of the week they dedicated to the ſun and moon; the third, according to ſome, was conſecrated to Tuiſto or Tuiſco, but according to others, who ſeem to be miſtaken, to Thyſa, or Dyſæ the goddeſs of juſtice, and the wife of Thor; the fourth day of the week was dedicated to Woden; the fifth to Thor, and the ſixth to

† See the biſhop of Glouceſter's divine legation of Moſes. Vol. 2.

Friga or Fræa; the ſeventh day was dedicated to Crodo likewiſe named Seater according to Verſtegan's conjecture, which Sheringham rejects as not mentioned in any other author.

Beſides theſe the Saxons worſhipped ſeveral other inferiour deities; ſuch was Eoſtre, to whom they ſacrificed in the month of April, which was from thence denominated Eoſtur monath. As the chriſtian feſtival of the reſurrection happened in or near this month, when the Saxons were converted, the name was on this account applied to this feaſt, which is ſtill continued to our times. Nocca, another deity of the Saxons, was the ſame as Neptune among the Romans. Mara was a frightful ſpectre, ſuppoſed to terrify people in their ſleep, whence we have compounded the word *night-mare*. Tanfana, mentioned by Tacitus, was ſuppoſed to preſide over lots. The elves or elfs, named by our common people fairies, were worſhipped by them, in order to prevent their being miſchievous, with a kind of ſacrifice ſtiled alf-blot. The Dyſæ, which ſomewhat reſemble the Parcæ, or rather Mercury of the Romans, were inferior Goddeſſes, and the meſſengers of the great Woden. Their peculiar province was to convey the ſouls of ſuch as died in battle to his abode, called Valhall, or the place of ſlaughter, where they are ſuppoſed to drink *bior* or ale with

FRIGA.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

SEATER or CRODO

Engravd for Rider's History of England.

BRITISH MUSEUM

with him and the other deities, in the ſkulls of their enemies, and to be honoured with ſeats of ſtate, in proportion to the numbers which they had ſlain; as appears from the following Runic ode, ſaid to have been ſung by Lodbrog, juſt before he expired.

Fyſumſt hins haitta,
Heimbiode mier Dyſir,
Sem fra oerins hollu;
Hefur odinn mier ſendar,
Gladur ſkat eg at med aſur.
Lifs ers lidnar ſtundar;
Lafiande ſkat eg deia.

ENGLISHED.

Life's tranſient ſcene I long to end;
The Dyſæ now my ſteps attend,
Who, ſent by Woden from his hall,
Call, and bleſs me with their call.
Exalted on the nobleſt ſeat,
Where the deathleſs heroes meet;
I immortal draughts ſhall quaff,
And in the pangs of death will laugh.

The manner in which they drank, is thus particularized in another part of the ſame dirge.

Drekur bior ad bragdi,
Idr biuguidum hauſa.

In

In ENGLISH.

With ale our throat ſhall ſoon be full;
And our cup a human ſkull.

So much was the religion of the Saxons calculated for rendering them brave and martial, that one article of their creed, was, that the Dyſæ, conveyed the ſouls of all thoſe, who died a natural death to Hela, the goddeſs of the infernal regions, where they were tormented with hunger, thirſt, and all other kinds of evils.

The Angles, a particular branch of the Saxons, from whom at preſent the Engliſh derive their name, worſhipped Herthus or the earth, whom, with the Romans, they ſtiled the mother of all things.

From this rude ſketch of the Saxon theology, we may conclude, that their converſion to chriſtianity, whenever it happened, muſt convey an ineffable bleſſing, and an inconceivable fund of knowledge. The Britons indeed might have longed for ſo happy a circumſtance, but it would have been in vain for them to have attempted it. Their ſtate of ſervitude was no recommendation of their religion to their maſters; their ignorance of the Saxon language, rendered the attempt impoſſible; the continual wars of the Saxons, which engroſſed their whole ſtudy, gave them very little leiſure to conſider the arguments which might be uſed in behalf of the goſpel; the retirement of

the

the clergy, which was then looked on as an exemplary mark of piety, and a neceſſary point of religion, contributed to render the converſion of the Saxons ſtill more difficult. ‡ But providence paved the way for the removal of all theſe obſtacles in the marriage of Ethelbert: his queen was a chriſtian, and by the exemplarineſs of her life, ſo far recommended her religion, that ſhe prevailed § on her huſband to ſuffer its introduction into his kingdom. The perſon deputed by pope Gregory for this great work was Auguſtin, who was joined, in France, by ſeveral French miſſioners, acquainted with the Engliſh tongue, and thereby capable of facilitating his deſign. When Auguſtin was firſt employed in his miſſion, he was

‡ From hence we may conclude that Gildas and Bede were more pious than wiſe, when they blamed the Britons for ſuffering the Saxons to remain ſo long in the iſland without attempting their converſion. Bede's words are very remarkable, as his reproof is oblique, and fathered entirely on Gildas "Inter alia inenarrabilium ſcelerum facta, quæ hiſtoricus eorum Gildas flebile ſermone deſcribit, & hoc addebant, ut nunquam genti Saxonum, ſive Anglorum, ſecum Britanniam incolenti, verbum fidei prædicando committerent." Among other inexpreſſible ſcenes of iniquity, deſcribed by Gildas the hiſtorian in his lamentations, they likewiſe added, that no attempt was ever made to preach or propagate the goſpel among the Saxons, or the Angles, who lived on the ſame iſland with them. *Bed. hiſt. eccl. lib.* 1. c. 22.

§ For a more particular account of this remarkable event the reader is deſired to turn to p. 186 vol. 1.

was abbot of St. Gregory at Rome, but when he had converted Ethelbert, he began to assume all the pomp and dignity of a patriarch, and arrogated to himself the title of an apostle. Having received episcopal ordination at Arles in France, he made Christ-Church his cathedral, but yet having no suffragans, he sent Laurentius a priest, and one Peter a Monk, to the pope, to acquaint him of the success of his labours, and to desire his opinion concerning several points relative to the discharge of his function, and what degree of authority he might assume over the bishops of France and Britain. Besides these were several articles which are not fit for the chaste ears of the modern age, though they equally argue the simplicity and the ignorance of that in which they were made. The answer received from Gregory, as far as it related to the bishops was expressed with great art; Augustin being denied all manner of jurisdiction over the Gallican prelates, though he was allowed it over the British.

This reply was accompanied by several curious manuscripts, some of which are still extant in the great libraries of this kingdom; but what gave Augustin the greatest satisfaction, was the * pall, and licence from the pope

* The pall was a rich robe of state, hanging down to the ground, it was originally a part of the imperial habit and allowed to the bishops of Rome by the favour of some emp-

pope to ordain twelve ſuffragans, who were to be ſubordinate to him. He likewiſe authorized him to ſend ſome prelate to York, with authority to ordain twelve biſhops for his ſuffragans. In caſe of Auguſtine's death the ſubjection of the archbiſhop of York to the archbiſhop of Canterbury was to ceaſe, and for the future, each of theſe prelates were to take place according to the priority of their conſecration. The pope, who was certainly a man of ſenſe, ordered him not to pull down the idol temples, but to convert them into chriſtian churches; that the natives by frequenting the temples they had been

emperour. Afterwards it was granted to other patriarchs, when an alteration was made in the conſtitution of the church, when ſeveral provinces were united into a ſee, and the biſhop had the power of receiving appeals. When the pope aſſumed the power of granting the pall without the concurrence of the emperour, its form was changed into the modern one, in order to avoid the danger of being found guilty of treaſon, which was extended to all that wore a part of the imperial habit without licence. After this æra it conſiſted only of a piece of white woolen cloth, about the breadth of a border, made round, marked with red croſſes, and thrown over the ſhoulders; two others of the ſame matter and form, with each a red croſs on them, falling down from it, the one on the breaſt, and the other on the back. It was faſtened on by three golden pins, and before it was tranſmitted to the biſhops was laid upon St. Peter's tomb. The reaſon for this ceremony, as aſſigned by Harpsfield, was, that the perſon whom it was ſent to, ſhould conſider this circumſtance as a ſtrong motive for his ſtrict adherence to the doctrine delivered by St. Peter;

been long accuſtomed to might be more eaſily drawn over to chriſtianity. With the ſame intention, Gregory ordered Auguſtin to continue the feſtivals uſed at their dedication, which reſembling the feaſts made by them during their idolatry, might reconcile them more eaſily to their new religion.

The propagation of religion and the working of miracles were two ideas ſo ſtrongly aſſociated in theſe ages, that they ſeemed ſynonimous terms. No wonder then that Auguſtin laid claim to this power, which the popiſh writers have, with their uſual complacence, endeavoured to ſupport. Whether this ſaint had worked up his imagination to ſuch a pitch as to believe his pretenſion to be founded in truth, we will not venture to ſay; but we all know, that Mahammed was induced, from his frequent claims to inſpiration, to think at laſt that he really was inſpired. Gregory however, granting the reality of his working miracles, gives him a very prudent caution againſt the effects which the conſciouſneſs of ſuch a power might have on his mind. He tells him, that it was a privilege, which ſhould give him no leſs dread than joy; dread, from an apprehenſion of its making him vain; but joy, on account of the advantage with which it would recommend his doctrine to the Engliſh.

Auguſtin

Auguſtin thus honoured with the pall, thus acknowledged by the pope to be indued with a power of working miracles, fixed his ſee at Canterbury, where he dedicated an old church, formerly built by the Roman chriſtians, to the honour of our Saviour, and having converted Ethelbert, got the aſcendancy over that monarch ſo far, that he quitted his own palace to the church and retired to Reculver.

Thus ſupported by the intereſt of Ethelbert, Auguſtin thought it a proper time to put the pope's letter in force, wherein he gave him authority over the Britiſh prelates. For this purpoſe a * council was aſſembled at *Auguſtin's ac*, or Auguſtin's oak, a place on the extremity of Glouceſter. When the Britiſh prelates were aſſembled, the ſaint endeavoured to perſuade them to a conformity to the church of Rome, † particularly with reſpect to the keeping of Eaſter. However trivial this circumſtance may ſeem to our cotemporaries, it was reckoned an im-

* The year in which this ſynod was held is not agreed upon by our critics and hiſtorians. Ran. Ceſtren. places it in A. D. 599. Spelman, A. D. 601. Sigebert, A. D. 602. but Florence of Worceſter and Dr. Smith, A. D. 603.

† This article only was propoſed in the firſt conference, according to Bede, lib. I. c. 2. though Carte and other modern hiſtorians mention ſeveral others, which the venerable writer does not introduce 'till the ſecond meeting.

portant point, and made the ſubject of a long debate at this time. The ſaint ſeeing that his arguments had little effect, is introduced by Bede as deſcending even to prayers, and from thence to reproaches. But the Britons ſtill continuing tenacious of their ancient cuſtoms, Auguſtin cut the diſpute ſhort by a challenge. "Come then, ſays Auguſtine, we will put the truth of our opinions to this teſt, whichſoever of us ſhall, by his prayers, recover a ſick or infirm perſon, let his opinion be looked on as having the ſanction of the Deity, and be embraced as ſuch by the oppoſite party. The Britons having, with great reluctance, agreed to this teſt of their orthodoxy, a blind perſon was brought in, who being firſt offered to the Britiſh biſhops without meeting with relief, was carried to Auguſtin, who kneeled down, in the ſight of the whole aſſembly, and reſtored him, inſtantaneouſly, to his ſight, by his * prayers.

This pretended miracle not having its deſired effect, a ſecond conference was propoſed,

* Smollet ſuggeſts, not without ſome degree of reaſon, "that the perſon was tutored for this purpoſe, and in all probability was not blind." Bede adds, that the Britons were convinced by this means of the orthodoxy of St. Auguſtin's ſentiments, and confeſſed that he was in the right, adding at the ſame time that they could not reject their received cuſtoms without the licence and conſent of the reſt of their countrymen.

poſed, at which were preſent † the biſhops of Landaff, St. Aſaph, St. Paterns, Bangor, Cheſter, Hereford, and Worceſter, together with Dinoth, abbot of Bangor, and ſeveral of his monks.

When theſe prelates entered and found that Auguſtine received them ſitting, they reſented the affront, and oppoſed his arguments with conſiderable warmth. Auguſtine inſiſted on their conformity in keeping Eaſter on the ſame day, in adminiſtring baptiſm

† Theſe prelates, before they came to the ſynod, had recourſe to a certain hermit, remarkable for his virtue and good ſenſe, to conſult him whether they ſhould give up their uſages and traditions, to conform to the preaching of St. Auguſtin. The old man anſwering them, "If he be a man of GOD, follow him." They aſked him, by what criterion they could know whether he was ſo? To this he replied, "Our Saviour ſays, *Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart.* If therefore Auguſtin be a perſon of a meek and an humble diſpoſition, it is very probable that he himſelf bears the yoke of Chriſt, and offers you the ſame. But if his behaviour is haughty and inſolent, it is evident, that he is not from heaven, and that his perſuaſions are unworthy your notice." Not ſatisfied with this anſwer, the Britons ſtill aſked the hermit, by what means they ſhould judge whether Auguſtin's behaviour was inſolent or no? To this the old man replied, "Order affairs ſo that Auguſtin and his company may come firſt to the place, and then if he riſe up to pay his compliments to you, on your entrance, you may eaſily ſee that he is a diſciple of Chriſt, and worthy of your eſteem; but if he keeps his ſeat, and behaves in a haughty manner, return his contempt, by diſregarding what-ever he ſays."

with the ſame rites as the Romiſh church, and in acknowledging the authority of the pope. If they would comply in theſe points, and join with him in preaching the goſpel to the Angles, the ſaint ſaid he would willingly overlook their diſagreement with him in other reſpects, though he could not help ſaying that ſome of their cuſtoms were contrary to the practice of the catholic church. The Britons ſtill reſolute to maintain their independancy, perſiſted in their oppoſition, refuſed to comply with him in a ſingle article, and boldly told him that they would never acknowledge him for their metropolitan. At the ſame time turning aſide, they ſaid, to one another, "if he was above riſing to receive us, with what inſolence muſt we expect him to treat us, if we ſhould acknowledge him for our ſuperiour?" * Dinoth, abbot

* In a curious manuſcript belonging to the Cottonian collection at the Britiſh Muſeum, marked Claudius 8. 8. this celebrated ſpeech is preſerved in Welſh, with a note ſhowing that it was tranſcribed from another manuſcript in the poſſeſſion of Roger Moſtyn, gentleman. As it will ſerve to illuſtrate the independancy of the Britiſh church, we ſhall beg leave to preſent the reader with a tranſcript of this curioſity. "Bid yspys a diogel i chwi, yn bod ni holl un ac arall yn uvydd ac yn oſtyngedyg i Eglwys Duw ac ir Pab o Ruvain, ac I boob kyur griſdion dwyuol, i garu pawb yn i radd meron kariad perffaith, ac i helpio pawb o honaunt a gair a gweithred y vod ynn blant i Ddduw i Ac am genaeh uvydddod no hwn nid adwen i vod ir neb ir yddych chwi yn henwi yn Baab yn ne yn Daad o daade

bot of Bangor, ſignalized himſelf in a ſpirited ſpeech on this occaſion, whereby he ſo incenſed the ſaint, that he could not abſtain

 from

daade yw gleimio ac yw oyunn: Ar uvydddod hwn ir yddym ni yn barod yw roddi ac yw dalu iddo ef, ac i pob Kriſdion yn dragwyddol. Hevyd ir ydym in dan lywodraeth Eſgob Kaerllion ar wyſc yr hwn yſydd yn olygwr dan Dduw arnom ni y wneuthud i ni gadwyr ffordd yſbrydol." That the Engliſh readers may not be ſtrangers to the ſenſe of this ſpeech, we have preſented them with a literal tranſlation of it. "We would have you know and be aſſured that we, all and every one of us, are ſubject and owe a deference of perfect charity to the church of GOD, the Pope of Rome, and every pious Chriſtian, in their reſpective degrees, and to help every one in word and in deed to make them the children of God. Other obedience than this I know not to be due to him, whom ye call pope, or father of fathers, nor can he claim or require it. Such obedience or deference as this we are ready to pay him and every chriſtian for ever. Beſides we are under the government of the Biſhop of Carleon upon the Uſk, who is our ſuperior, or ſuperintendant, under GOD, to oblige us to preſerve ourſelves uncorrupted with reſpect to ſpirituals." How tenacious the Britiſh prelates were of their independency, and how far they were from owning the juriſdiction of the pope, may be perceived from the following paragraph, which is written in Welch on the back of the page in the manuſcript juſt quoted, "Ac o amſer Sampſon hyt yn amſer Henry ap William Baſtard vrenhin Loegyr ef a vu y Myniw 21. y Archeſcyb o Leſgedd, neu o dlodi heb Pallium. Ac ir hynny Eſcob Mynniw a gyſſegrai holl Eſgyb Kymry, a hwynteu ai kyſſegrint ynteu megu ſuffraganiat iddo heb wneuthor uſſyddod na dariſtyngedigaeth i Eglwys aral or ynys." In Engliſh thus; "From the time of Sampſon to the reign of Henry the ſon of William the Baſtard (i. e. the conqueror) there

from imprecations againſt him and his whole fraternity.

Auguſtin was yet without a ſuffragan, but the year after this conteſt conſecrated Juſtus biſhop of Rocheſter, and, on the converſion of

there were one and twenty Biſhops of St. David's, who on account of their weakneſs or poverty were without the Pall. But nevertheleſs, the Biſhop of St. David's conſecrated all the Biſhops of Wales, and they ſubmitted to him as his ſuffragans without paying obedience or being ſubject to any other church in this iſland." This tranſlation is literal, and therefore deficient in the ſpirit which the ſpeech breathes in the original: however it ſerves to aſſure us that the Welch prelates were not ſubject to any ſuperiour but the biſhops of St. David's even 'till the reign of Henry I. the reaſon aſſigned for their not receiving the pall, though a noble confeſſion of their integrity and diſintereſtedneſs, is not the only one that might have been produced: I ſhould rather have aſcribed it to the ſpirit of liberty and independency, which always was the characteriſtic of their country. This averſion to the authority of the pope, was not only to be found in the clergy, but animated all the nobles, and engaged the pens of their Bards likewiſe. Hence we find Talieſſen, Maelgwyn's poet Laureat, denouncing woes to ſuch of the clergy as were remiſs in their duty, at a time when their rights were expoſed to the encroachments, and in danger of falling a prey to the ambition of popiſh miſſionaries. This ode, in its original language, is equal to any of Horace, and worthy of the peruſal of the Britiſh reader.

Gwae'r offeiriad byd, nys anghreifftia gwy'd
Ac nys pregetha.
Gwae ny cheidw ei gail, ac ef yn fugail
Ac nys areilia.
Gwae ny cheidw ei ddefaid, thag bleiddie rhyfeniaid,
Ai ffon gnw ppa.

Though

of the East Saxons promoted Melitus to the see of London. When Augustine died, Laurentius, whom he had consecrated † during his life time, succeeded him in the see of Canterbury. This prelate was not less zealous in persuading the Brittish and Scottish bishops to conformity, than his predecessor; he wrote a very pressing letter to them on this subject, wherein he makes great complaints that Dagan, a Scottish bishop, refused to eat with him on account of their disagreement in keeping the festival of Easter. But his remonstrances had no effect.

Boniface who succeeded Gregory, was more ambitious than his predecessor, he assumed the title of universal bishop, and being backed by the emperor Phocas, his partizans in different nations endeavoured to subject the

Though it is scarce possible to keep up to the spirit of Talieſſin in an English translation, yet the authour hopes the ancient Britons will excuse his defects, and does not doubt but his English readers will be pleased with his readiness to oblige them.

Woe to the priest, of hope forlorn,
Who will not watch his rising corn,
And clear his field from tares.
Woe to the shepherd, faithless wight!
Who scorns to watch his flock by night,
A traitour to his cares!
Woe to the hind, who shall not keep,
And with his crook defend his sheep,
From Romish wolves and snares.

† A. D. 605.

the whole world to his tyranny. Melitus biſhop of London, who had made no great progreſs in converting the inhabitants of that city, exerted himſelf more particularly to induce them to conformity in this point, and was ſent, to receive inſtructions on that head, to Rome. While he was on his embaſſy, there happened a great revolution in in the affairs of the church of England. * Ethelbert dying in this interval, Edbald, his ſon and ſucceſſor, turned pagans. Much about the ſame time, Sebert king of Eſſex deceaſed, and his three ſons apoſtatized from chriſtianity likewiſe, who baniſhed Melitus, on his return, from their dominions. On this occaſion he fled to Laurentius, archbiſhop of Canterbury, where he met with Juſtus biſhop of Rocheſter, who had been obliged to quit his ſee on account of the apoſtacy of the inhabitants.

When the three prelates had conſulted together on the beſt meaſures to be taken in their circumſtances, they came to a reſolution to abandon the iſland. Melitus and Juſtus, went in † conſequence of this determination to France, intending to watch the firſt favourable opportunity of returning and reſuming their charge.

The ſees thus abandoned by their paſtors were entirely immerſed in every profaneneſs, and

* A. D. 616. † A. D. 617.

and every ſpark of chriſtianity ſeemed quite extinguiſhed.

Laurentius, unable to ſtem the torrent of idolatry, was preparing to follow Melitus and Juſtus, but having converted Eadbald by a pious fraud laid his intention aſide.

The night before his intended departure, he laid in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul; going in the morning to the king, he drew aſide his garment, and ſhewed him his body all over ſtripes, which he pretended he had received from St. Peter, for his having taken a reſolution of abandoning his flock in the midſt of their diſtreſſes. This ſtory, though romantic in the higheſt degree, was credited by the * king, who was ſo wrought on by the tortures which the archbiſhop ſaid he had endured on account of his ſalvation, that he renounced his idolatry, and profeſſed himſelf a chriſtian.

† The king being thus fraudently converted, Laurentius recalled Melitus and Juſtus, and reſtored them to their reſpective ſees. But the Londoners were at that time ſo much bigotted to their idolatrous worſhip, that they rejected Melitus, and obliged him to retire into Kent.

The ‡ ſee of Canterbury becoming vacant by the death of Laurentius, Melitus ſucceeded.

* A. D. 617. † A. D. 618. ‡ A. D. 619.

ceeded. This prelate was no leſs eminent for his piety than he was for his birth. He was much afflicted with the gout, but notwithſtanding very active in diſcharging the duties of his function. Bede relates that he was endued with a power of working miracles, and among other inſtances mentions that he put out a fire at Canterbury, by the meer efficacy of his prayers.

Juſtus, who ſucceeded Melitus in the archiepiſcopal ſee, was indulged by pope Boniface with the authority of conſecrating other biſhops. In conſequence of this power he conſecrated Paulinus biſhop of York, that he might attend Ethelburga, the daughter of Eadbald, who was at † this time married to Edwin king of Northumberland. This prelate was a perſon of great learning and talents, and extremely well qualified for his province. About two years after Paulinus was ſettled in Northumberland, he had the honour to baptize Edwin and moſt of his court. Boniface had ſent a very preſſing letter to the king to convert him; he had likewiſe ſent another to Ethelburga to uſe all her intereſt to promote his deſign, but both letters proved ineffectual. What arguments could not perform, was effected by chance: * the king being

† A. D. 625. Romanus was likewiſe conſecrated by Juſtus biſhop of Rocheſter in his room.

* A. D. 627. See p. 187. Vol. 1.

being dangerouſly wounded by a ruffian hired to aſſaſſinate him, was addreſſed by Paulinus ſo powerfully on this occaſion, that he embraced the chriſtian religion himſelf, and moſt of his ſubjects followed his example.

Edwin fully perſuaded of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, was a zealous promoter of its intereſts, and by his perſuaſions prevailed on Eorpwald, king of the Eaſt-Angles. But this prince being aſſaſſinated ſoon after his converſion, his religion made no durable progreſs in his dominions.*

Edwin being ſlain in a battle with Penda, his dominions were over-run by the conqueror, Paulinus was obliged to fly, and going to Rocheſter, was made biſhop of that ſee, then vacant by the death of Romanus.

† On the deceaſe of Juſtus, ‡ Honorius was conſecrated archbiſhop of Canterbury, and received the ‖ pall from a pope of the ſame name; together with a bull, wherein he gave him directions concerning the conſecration of biſhops.

This year the Weſt-Saxons were converted by Berinus, who was conſecrated by the pope, and ſent by him to propagate chriſtianity in ſome part of this iſland, which had not 'till

* A. D. 630. † A. D. 631. ‡ A. D. 633.
‖ A. D. 634.

'till that time embraced its doctrines. Kynigils, the king, was baptized by him, and Oſwald, king of Northumberland was his god-father.

* This monarch on his acceſſion, ſeemed to have the cauſe of religion very much at heart, and having been inſtructed in its principles during his exile in Scotland, ſent for a prelate from thence to undertake the converſion of his kingdom. Aidan was the perſon elected for this important office, which he diſcharged with the greateſt aſſiduity and wiſdom. Nothing could have pleaſed a humane mind more than the part which Oſwald acted on this occaſion. As the Scotch prelate did not underſtand the language of the country, the king acted as his interpreter, and repeated the prelate's arguments to his ſubjects in their own language. The ſucceſs of their mutual endeavours was ſuch as anſwered their higheſt wiſhes, Aidan founded a ſee at Landisfarne, and ſeveral Scottiſh monks coming over to his aſſiſtance, the number of their converts increaſed greatly, churches were built in moſt parts of Northumberland; monaſteries were founded and ſchools erected for the inſtruction of youth. The character of Aidan as drawn by Bede is truly amiable, and it were to be wiſhed that the venerable author, had not been ſo much bigotted to his own principles, as to mention

* A. D. 635.

tion some of his trifling singularities, as a sign of this prelatesi's heterodoxy.

We have already described the state of christianity among the East-angles. The confusion which this kingdom was thrown into at the death of Redowald, was such as rendered the practice of religious duties languid, and threatened the total extirpation of christianity. But when Redowald ascended the throne, it began to revive under his auspices, and to regain what ground it had lost during his exile. This monarch had made no small progress in learning while he was in France, and by the assistance of St. Furseus and † Felix, founded a seminary for learning, on the same plan, as those which he had seen abroad. Furseus came from Ireland, and was an itinerary preacher; he was famous for his learning and eminent for his piety. Felix, was a Burgundian by nation, and contracted an acquaintance with Eorpwald during his exile; when that monarch returned to Britain, he attended him hither, and was made bishop of Dunwich, which see he held about sixteen years.

The kingdom of Kent, which lead the way to the other dominions of the Heptarchy, in point of conversion, continued still illustrious for the zeal of its monarchs. On the

† A. D. 635. according to Higden's polychron, but in A. D. 630 according to Dr. Smith.

death of Eadbald, ‡ his son Ercombert assumed the reigns of government, and is famous for being the first person that introduced the observation of lent; which he ordered to be kept under severe penalties by all his subjects. In his reign it was customary for the inhabitants of this island to retire to France to pass their days in the monasteries founded in that kingdom. These seminaries were likewise filled with the daughters of the princes and nobles, who flocked thither for education; for monasteries were not as yet established in this island. Ercombert joining in with the humours of the time, sent his daughter Erkengoda to one of these seminaries at Brie in France, named Faremoustier, from its foundress Fara, a lady of Burgundy. In this sacred retreat, she met with Ethelburga, the relict of king Edwin, with whom she passed her days in the habit of a nun, and became an abbess of that society before her death.

In Wessex the christian religion was in a fluctuating condition at this time, and in these early ages seems to be very much influenced by the example of the monarchs. Kenowalch at his succession rejected christianity, divorced his wife, and was expelled his kingdom.

The Mercians, though surrounded by the other Saxon nations, who had embraced christianity,

‡ A. D. 640. Some place his reign in A. D. 642.

chriſtianity, ſtill continued pagans. Their whole attention was engroſſed by war, and the chief ſtudy of their princes ſeemed to be the enlargement of their borders. It is indeed ſomewhat remarkable, that in the converſion of this kingdom the examples of the great perſonages led the way; though in other ſtates on the continent, the poor ſeem to be the firſt perſons that embraced the doctrines of the goſpel. We may likewiſe obſerve, that among the liſt of Engliſh ſaints none but kings and princes are enrolled; theſe are the founders of our monaſteries, and the moſt illuſtrious names in our martyrologies; but in the eaſt, kings and princes were converted laſt, the army of confeſſors and martyrs was generally compoſed of the indigent, and it was very long before the yoke of Chriſt was placed on the necks of kings.

Penda contributed, by his conqueſts, as much to the converſion of his ſubjects, as to the deſtruction of his enemies. His character has already been deſcribed in a former volume; and is ſuch, that it was no ſmall happineſs to chriſtianity that he was not one of its profeſſors. The father's vices however were not more notorious, than the ſon's virtues were illuſtrious; and the one ſeemed deſigned by providence as a foil to ſet out the other. Peada, the perſon we are treating of, had about this time negotiated a

marriage with Alchfleda, daughter of Oſwin, king of Bernicia, who abſolutely refuſed to grant his conſent on any other condition, than Peada's embracing chriſtianity. The young prince, who was a perſon of great candour, noble ſentiments, and ſound judgment, would not let his affection get the better of his reaſon, ſo far as to embrace the goſpel without examination. He * enquired into its principles with great aſſiduity, and was aſſiſted in his reſearches by Alchfrid, Oſwi's eldeſt ſon, who had married his ſiſter Cyniburga. The effect of Peada's enquiry was ſuch, as always muſt be expected from a candid examination into the evidences of the chriſtian religion. He profeſſed himſelf ſo fully convinced of its divinity, that he declared the obtaining Alchfleda was the leaſt of his motives for embracing the goſpel, and that he was firmly reſolved to be a chriſtian, even though he ſhould not have the princeſs. Thus qualified to be received into the church, he was baptized, together with all the nobles who attended him, by biſhop † Finan, at a place called Waubottle.

After

* A. D. 653.

† He ſucceeded Aidan in his ſee, and built a cathedral of wood, which was covered with thatch. He was a ſtrenuous aſſertor of the Britiſh manner of keeping the feſtival of Eaſter. One Ronan, who was a Scotchman by birth but educated on the continent, frequently debated

After this he returned home accompanied by * Codd, Adda, Betti, and Diuma, four clergymen, who, by their indefatigable pains, propagated the gospel among his subjects. Penda, who had very little religion himself, did not give himself any trouble about the establishment of christianity in his dominions, the pious missionaries had an unbounded toleration, and all their converts were permitted the enjoyment of their religion without the least molestation. One part, indeed, of his behaviour towards the christians was such as ought to be a standing lesson to those who profess the gospel in this age; he looked upon all those who professed christianity without conforming their lives to its laws, as objects of the greatest aversion, and would frequently say, "that such persons were

debated with him on this point, but instead of converting him made him adhere the more obstinately to his own opinion. This topic had been very much agitated in the time of Aidan his predecessor, and had occasioned so great a disagreement, even in the court, that the king and queen would keep this festival at different times. Yet this disagreement was not attended with any animosity, but each party allowed the other free toleration in this particular, and kept the bond of peace. Aidan was therefore deservedly caressed by both parties, and by his moderation gave signs of a zeal corrected by wisdom, and tempered with candour.

* The three first were Englishmen, and only priests; the last was a Scotchman, and a bishop. Adda was brother to one Utan, a clergyman of note and Abbot of Gatéshead monastery.

contemptible and wretched to the laſt degree, who neglected to obey the deity in whom they pretended to believe."

The name of Oſwy occurs ſo often in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of theſe times, that he may be looked upon as the greateſt patron the goſpel had in thoſe days, and may, without the leaſt impropriety, be ſtiled the converter of this iſland. Sigebert the Good, king of the Eaſt-Saxons, was intimately acquainted with this prince, and cultivated his friendſhip with great aſſiduity. The frequent viſits which Sigebert paid Oſwy, gave him a fair opportunity of introducing religion as a topic for diſcourſe. In theſe conferences, Oſwy ſpake with great freedom againſt idolatry, and repreſented it as founded in contradictions, and teeming with the groſſeſt abſurdities. At the ſame time he painted the worſhip of the true GOD in its moſt amiable colours, and gave ſuch repreſentations of his majeſty as were elegantly ſublime, and inconteſtibly true. Theſe principles being frequently inculcated by Oſwy in his interviews with Sigebert, they had at laſt their deſired effect, and he profeſſed himſelf a chriſtian, being baptized by Finan, who performed the ſame office for Peada, at the inſtance of that monarch.

After his baptiſm, Sigebert requeſted Oſwy to ſupply him with ſome perſons of note,

to propagate the christian faith in his dominions: In consequence of this application, Oswy sent for Chad from the kingdom of Mercia, and joining another priest to him as an associate, gave them a commission to preach the gospel in the kingdom of the East Saxons. The harvest these missionaries made was very considerable, and the pains they took in the discharge of their office deserved both praise and admiration. Chad having one day called on Finan in his way to his native country, gave him so satisfactory an account of his success, that the good bishop, calling other prelates to his assistance, honoured him with the mitre. Thus consecrated bishop of the East-angles, Chad returned to his see, and took the advantage of his new dignity to found churches, ordain priests and deacons, and to provide in the best manner for the establishment of the religion he had propagated.

The christian religion was now established in all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, excepting that of the South-Saxons; but as the first propagators were persons of different nations, the external ceremonies of their respective churches were different likewise. The fundamental points of christianity were unanimously acknowledged by all the societies of christians in this island; but with respect to the modes of dress, rites, and the time of celebrating the great festivals,

contemptible and wretched to the laſt degree, who neglected to obey the deity in whom they pretended to believe."

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After his baptiſm, Sigebert requeſted Oſwy to ſupply him with ſome perſons of note,

to propagate the chriſtian faith in his dominions: In conſequence of this application, Oſwy ſent for Chad from the kingdom of Mercia, and joining another prieſt to him as an aſſociate, gave them a commiſſion to preach the goſpel in the kingdom of the Eaſt Saxons. The harveſt theſe miſſionaries made was very conſiderable, and the pains they took in the diſcharge of their office deſerved both praiſe and admiration. Chad having one day called on Finan in his way to his native country, gave him ſo ſatisfactory an account of his ſucceſs, that the good biſhop, calling other prelates to his aſſiſtance, honoured him with the mitre. Thus conſecrated biſhop of the Eaſt-angles, Chad returned to his ſee, and took the advantage of his new dignity to found churches, ordain prieſts and deacons, and to provide in the beſt manner for the eſtabliſhment of the religion he had propagated.

The chriſtian religion was now eſtabliſhed in all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, excepting that of the South-Saxons; but as the firſt propagators were perſons of different nations, the external ceremonies of their reſpective churches were different likewiſe. The fundamental points of chriſtianity were unanimouſly acknowledged by all the ſocieties of chriſtians in this iſland; but with reſpect to the modes of dreſs, rites, and the time of celebrating the great feſtivals,

vals, there was a ſtrong oppoſition between them. The moſt conſiderable points in which they diſagreed were, the time of keeping Eaſter, and the form of the eccleſiaſtical tonſure. Though the romiſh church pretends to deduce the eccleſiaſtical tonſure from the very days of the apoſtles, yet it is plain from the writings of the fathers, that it had no exiſtence in the four firſt centuries. The clergy, during this period kept their hair of a modeſt length, which was common to them with the laity. In the fifth century they clipped or ſhaved their hair cloſe all over, and in the ſucceeding age imitated the crown of thorns in their tonſure. The cloſe tonſure was borrowed by the clergy from the monks, and that in ſhape of a crown of thorns was borrowed by the ſecular monks from the clergy. About the end of the ſixth century, the monks and the clergy uſed the tonſure promiſcuouſly, and to be *ſhaved* was an expreſſion ſynonimous, to that of being ordained. The firſt propagators of religion had introduced the ſhort tonſure into uſe at that time, which conſiſted in cutting the hair on the forehead from ear to ear, in the form of a ſemicircle. But when the latter miſſionaries came, they endeavoured to introduce that kind wherein the hair is ſhorn, or clipped, on the top of the crown in the form of a circle. The Britons, tenacious of their own rites, would not

not ſubmit to this innovation, and the peace of the church was interrupted by this ridiculous diſpute, "whether the hair of eccleſiaſtics ſhould be ſhorn on the top of the head, ſo as to reſemble a crown of thorns; or be cut in the fore-part from ear to ear, ſo as to reſemble a ſemi-circle."

We have already obſerved, that in Oſwy's court two Eaſters were often kept in one year; this ſtrange phænomenon may be eaſily accounted for by obſerving, that the king adhered to the Scottiſh cuſtom, and the queen to the romiſh. So that when Oſwy's lent was over, and he was celebrating the feſtival of Eaſter, on the fourteenth of the moon, when it happened on a ſunday, the queen and her retinue were in the height of their faſting and mortifications, and advanced no farther than Palm Sunday. This diverſity of ſentiments had been kept up without any great heats, 'till Colman, who ſucceeded Finan in his ſee, revived the diſpute and carried it to great lengths. The king, and Alchfrid were of contrary ſides in this diſpute, and were willing to have this queſtion determined in a public conference.

For this purpoſe a ſynod was held at Whitby, at which both the princes were preſent. Agilbert, biſhop of Weſſex, who had been ſome time in Northumberland, was at the head of the Romiſh party, and

Colman

Colman on that of the Britons. The debate was opened by Oſwy, who having diſplayed the neceſſity of conformity, and the reaſon of their meeting, deſired Colman to produce his proofs in favour of his own ſentiments. After Colman had produced his arguments in vindication of his opinion; the king then deſired Agilbert to favour him with his reaſons for the contrary party. Agilbert replying that he ſhould be glad if Wilfrid might be allowed to ſpeak for him, on account of his not underſtanding Engliſh well enough to do juſtice to his cauſe, the king conſented.

Wilfrid, whom Agilbert had pitched upon as his advocate on this occaſion, was a man of noble birth, graceful in his perſon, polite in his addreſs, abſtemious in his diet, conſtant in his devotions, a great maſter of eloquence, but ſomewhat conceited; he was fond of ſtate; ſoon elated at any little degree of ſucceſs, and naturally haughty. His parts were very good and improved by learning and travel; he had ſtudied at Rome and Leon, which places then abounded in books and profeſſors in all ſciences, and had made himſelf maſter of the civil and eccleſiaſtical law, a kind of ſtudy, at that time, uncultivated in Britain, for want of authors. With theſe accompliſhments he had gained a great aſcendant over Alchfrid, who had been his pupil, and was ſo ſtrongly infected with his doctrine,

doctrine, that when Agilbert came to Northumberland, Alchfrid requeſted him to ordain him.

Colman, who had ſpoken before him, had founded his opinion on the univerſal practice of his anceſtors, which he pretended to ſupport by the example of St. John, and the conformity of the whole church. In anſwer to this aſſertion, Wilfrid appealed likewiſe to apoſtolical tradition in his favour; he aſſerted, that St. Peter and St. Paul had given their ſanction to his opinion by their practice, and that it had been univerſally adopted in Italy and France, of which he had an ocular teſtimony when he travelled in thoſe parts; beſides this, he added, he was confidently aſſured, that it was the ſame in Aſia, Africa, Greece, and all other parts of the world, and there were none who oppoſed it, unleſs a few obſtinate Picts and Britons, whoſe very oppoſition was a flagrant mark of their *folly*. Colman, incenſed at the concluſion of Wilfrid's ſpeech, replied with ſome warmth, that his charge of folly was ſomething ſtrange and indecent, as it included not only himſelf and his party, but St. John likewiſe. Wilfrid, ſenſible he had been too warm, pretended to vindicate his aſſertion, by alledging, that St. John had in this point temporized, in order to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of thoſe whom he deſigned

signed to convert, or else had not at that time got the better of his judaical prejudices. Yet what was still more strong in his favour, he pretended that neither St. John nor St. Peter kept the time of celebrating Easter, in the same manner as Colman and his party. Colman, thus driven from his first entrenchment, now defended himself from the example of Anatolius, and Columba, who had performed several miracles, and were of so blameless a life, that he did not scruple to follow their steps and to espouse their opinions. In reply to this argument, Wilfrid observed; "that the appeal made to Anatolius was improper, since Colman and his party were ignorant of his sentiments, and contradicted him in their practice. With respect to Columba, and his followers, he observed that their performing miracles was no argument of the truth of their principles, since the gospel informs us that several persons, who should cast out devils and perform many signs, would nevertheless be told by Christ, that he did not know them. But granting their sanctity to be ever so great, their ignorance, not their knowledge, was the cause of the diversity of their sentiments, since it was probable that they would have altered them had they been better informed. He hoped, he said, he would not oppose the practice of his ancestors, how ever pious they were, to that of the universal or catholic

lic church; he hoped, that notwithſtanding the piety and miraculous powers of Columba, that he would not be preferred to St. Peter, the chief of the apoſtles, to whom the Lord had ſaid, * "*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it*;" and "*I will give thee the keys of heaven.*" As ſoon as Wilfrid had delivered the laſt ſentence, Oſwy could not help aſking Colman, Whether it was true that Chriſt had made uſe of this addreſs to St. Peter? who anſwering in the affirmative, the king immediately aſked him, Whether he could produce any thing equal to it in favour of Columba? on the prelate's continuing ſilent; the king reſumed his diſcourſe, demanding whether they did not both agree, that this expreſſion of our Saviour was principally and ſolely addreſſed to St. Peter, and whether the keys of heaven where not given him by our Lord? they both anſwered, "yes, without doubt." On which the king, to cut ſhort the diſpute, told them plainly, "that St. Peter was ſuch a door-keeper, as he would not willingly offend, either by oppoſing or violating his authority, for fear he ſhould lock the doors of heaven againſt him, and he ſhould not be able to find any body elſe to open them for him." The ſimplicity of

* *Matt.* xvi. 18, 19.

this answer, which would make a modern christian smile, had no small weight in this famous synod. The majority declared in favour of the Romanists, and Colman seeing himself thus deserted by the king, retired in a pique, with his few adherents, to Scotland. Cedd, bishop of the East-Saxons, who was a kind of moderator, or rather interpreter during this debate, * deserted the Scottish party, and returned to his see, where he celebrated Easter after the manner of the church of Rome.

The see of Northumberland being thus vacated by the retreat of Colman, Tuda, a South-Briton, was elected in his room. Wilfrid having prepossessed Alchfrid and Oswy with a great opinion of his abilities, took advantage of their confidence to introduce those rites and ceremonies into the English church, to which he had been habituated abroad. Among other innovations which he made in the service of the church, were the antiphonies, or the alternate method of singing in choirs.

* *Rapin*, who has given a minute detail of this conference, in his history, seems to be under a mistake, when he asserts that "Cedd, was the only one of the Scotch party who thought it his duty, not to leave his flock for a thing of so little moment, though he was of a *contrary opinion to the Romanists*." Whereas Bede expressly asserts that he quitted their steps, and adopted the romish method in celebrating Easter; his words are, "Cedd, relictis Scottorum vestigiis, ad suam sedem revertit, utpote agnita observatione Catholici Paschæ."

choirs. The chief reaſon he aſſigned for this alteration was the promotion of conformity among the chriſtian churches, but the principle on which it was founded, rendered it of pernicious conſequence to religion in general, and to the purity of the chriſtian diſpenſation, in particular. The ſupremacy of St. Peter, with which Oſwy had been ſeduced at the ſynod, paved the way for his receiving the doctrine, that the pope was endued with a ſuper-eminent power of remitting or retaining ſins. This doctrine was the engine by which Wilfrid gave a fatal blow to the liberties of the Engliſh churches at their firſt inſtitution, and was the actuating principle, which induced ſo many Engliſh princes to quit their crowns, and end their days at Rome. The ſteps by which ſo dangerous an opinion was introduced into this kingdom, are well worthy of our notice, and may ſerve us as a warning to prevent the growth of ſuch an evil before it becomes too ſtrong to be cruſhed, or has arrived too high to be pulled down.

During the life of Tuda, all the Northumbrian dominions were ſubject to one biſhop and formed but one dioceſe, but after that prelate was taken away by a plague which raged at this time it ſeems to have been divided into ‖ two dioceſes, one of which was at Hexham

‖ This account is ſupported by Stubbs, Richard prior of Hexham, and Gervaſe of Canterbury; that which is given

for Bernicia, and the other at York for Deira. Alchfrid, who governed Bernicia under his father, thought his tutour the propereſt perſon to ſupply the vacant ſee, and introduce the Romiſh diſcipline, to which he was not a little bigotted. But that he ſhould not be conſecrated by any prelates who were not received into the romiſh communion, he ſent him to the french court, where he was ordained by twelve biſhops, among which was Agilbert, who had retired to Paris in diſcontent, upon Kenwalch's dividing his dioceſe into two, and was made biſhop of that city. Whilſt Wilfrid was abroad Oſwy, in emulation of his ſon's zeal, ſent Chadd abbot of Læſtingham into Kent to be ordained archbiſhop of York, But finding on his arrival that Deuſdedit was dead, and his ſee vacant, he went to Wincheſter, and was there conſecrated by Wini, aſſiſted by two other prelates. Wini, according to Bede, was the only biſhop in all Britain who was canonically ordained, and was aſſiſted in this act of conſecration by two other biſhops, who adhered to their old cuſtom in keeping Eaſter. The manner in which Chadd diſcharged the duties of his ſacred function was ſuch as deſerved the reputation he acquired, and highly worthy of imitation. He was exemplary for his continence, his humility, his aſſiduity, and his learn-

given by Eddius, ſeeming to be rather a romance than a hiſtory, and being deviated from Bede.

learning; was indefatigable in ſtudy, and omitted no opportunity of promoting religion among the people of his dioceſe.

* The year after this prelate's conſecration, a great revolution happened in religion among the Eaſt-Saxons. Sigher, one of the princes of theſe parts, turned pagan in a pique, becauſe his country was at that time ravaged by a peſtilence. Several of the nobles, who joined their monarch in his apoſtacy, contributed very much to diffuſe his ſentiments among the lower orders, and in order to eſtabliſh their principles repaired the pagan temples, and replaced the idols. As ſoon as Wulfhere, king of Mercia, to whom Sigher was tributary, had heard of his apoſtacy, he ſent Jaruma to reclaim him. The prelate, who was a perſon of great abilities, ſoon perſuaded the apoſtate to return into the boſom of the church, to demoliſh his heathen temples, and open the churches, which were crouded with converts during his reſidence in theſe parts.

About this time Egbert and Oſwy joined together in nominating Wighard, a Kentiſh prieſt, for the vacant ſee of Canterbury, and ſent him to Rome to be conſecrated archbiſhop, in order to fill all the ſees in England with prieſts of the Romiſh communion. He carried over with him ſeveral rich preſents from the king, but before he was conſecrated, died,

* A. D. 665.

with almoſt all his retinue, of an epidemic diſorder. On this occaſion the king wrote an epiſtle to the pope, deſiring him to ſubſtitute another perſon in the room of Wighard. Vitalian willing to diſcharge his truſt in ſuch a manner as to give ſatisfaction to the king, made diligent ſearch after a perſon proper for ſo important a function. After ſome enquiry he ſent for Hadrian, an African by birth, and a Neapolitan abbot; who ſeemed a proper object of his choice on account of his conſummate knowledge of the ſcriptures, and the rites and ceremonies of the church. Beſides which he was a perfect maſter of the Latin and Greek. Had Hadrian complied with the pope's choice, he might have been greatly beneficial to this kingdom, in keeping the youth of England at home, who were obliged, at this time, to go to Ireland for education. Hadrian, who had no leſs modeſty than learning, humbly declined the primacy which was offered him, on account of his youth and his want of knowledge, but at the ſame time recommended one Andrew, who was generally acknowledged to be qualified for the office of metropolitan in both theſe reſpects, had he not been of a ſickly conſtitution, and an infirm ſtate of health, which his holineſs looked on as an impediment to his preferment.

While

While these things were in agitation, Wilfrid * returned from France, and was put in possession of the see of Hexham by king Alchfrid. Two years after, Chadd, being fond of a monastic life, quitted the see of York; and retired to his monastery at Læstingham. On this occasion Wilfrid became administrator of the vacant diocese, and sole bishop of all Oswy's dominions. Fond of external pomp and power, this accession was embraced to put his see in a flourishing condition, and sumptuous buildings were erected under his inspection in most parts of Northumberland.

While Wilfrid was thus enjoying the fruits of his ambition in England, an event was ripening abroad, which was to deprive him of his power, to ruin him in the esteem of Alchfrid, and to contribute to his expulsion from this island.

The difficulties which attended the choice of a fit person for a primate of England, had embarrassed his holiness for some time. Hadrian who had declined this dignity for reasons already described, was excused only on condition, that he found a person fit for it in his room. Vitalian had already rejected one person that had been recommended by Hadrian; Theodore, a Greek monk, and a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, a person well

* A. D. 665.

well verſed in profane and ſacred learning, maſter of Latin and Greek, exemplary in his life, and venerable for his age, being then ſixty-ſix years old, was the ſecond perſon recommended by Hadrian. More ſucceſsful in this choice than he had been in the firſt, he prevailed on Vitalian to conſecrate Theodore, but was previouſly obliged * to promiſe, that he would attend him to England, as a ſpy upon his conduct, to prevent his introducing any greek cuſtoms into the Church of Canterbury. In their way to England they were detained by John archbiſhop of Marſeilles, till Ebroin mayor of the palace, gave them liberty to purſue their journey. The winter obliging them to ſtay ſome time in this kingdom, Hadrian was again detained by Ebroin who was jealous of his being employed in ſome treaty by the emperour, which might be to the diſadvantage of France. Theodore was allowed to proſecute his journey by himſelf, and arrived in England about two years after his conſecration.

The preſents which were tranſmitted by the pope, to Oſwy, ſome time before this prelate's arrival were ſuch, as indicate how far chriſtianity was at that time deviated from the purity of the goſpel; they conſiſted of the relics of the apoſtles, St. Peter and Paul,

* A. D. 668.

and Paul, to which were added those of Laurence, John, Paul and Gregory; at the same time the queen was presented with a nail by his holiness, which was supposed to have been taken from the chains of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.

As soon as Theodore took possession of his see, he applied himself to a regular discharge of the several duties belonging to his function. Hadrian being freed from his detention, was, on his arrival, put in possession of the monastery of St. Augustin, which he enriched with a great number of Greek manuscripts, some of which are still in being. He likewise founded a famous school in this place, which was afterwards illustrious for great numbers of men eminent in divinity, and all the sciences. After this the primate, in company with Hadrian, made a general visitation of all the kingdom, in which he was every where favourably received, and by the assistance of his colleague established the discipline of the Romish church. This was the first instance of the acknowledgment of the archiepiscopal authority in all the churches of England. As these illustrious missionaries were no less versed in profane learning than in sacred, they disseminated the seeds of the sciences wherever they came, they taught their disciples geometry, astronomy and arithmetic, as well as the noble truths of religion; and some of their scholars made so great a progress

greſs in the learned languages, that Bede affirms, from his perſonal knowledge, that ſome of them underſtood Greek and Latin as well as they did their native tongue.

It was about this time that attempts were made by Wilfrid and others, to introduce the Benedictine rule, and get monaſteries founded in England. This was an inſtitution very different from that which had hitherto prevailed in Britain. The ſeminaries already eſtabliſhed here, were ſchools, wherein young noblemen received their education; or where thoſe intended for holy orders were enabled, by a courſe of ſtudy, inſtruction and exerciſes, to diſcharge their duty to the benefit of the community. They had indeed ſome places of retreat, in ſmall iſlands, which laid at a diſtance from the continent, wherein they gave themſelves up intirely to devotion. Some barren tracts in the main land, were uſed likewiſe for this religious miſanthropy: For indeed it deſerved no better name. But this devout unſociableneſs, which had, generally ſpeaking, been confined to the male ſex, had now a prodigious run among the females, they began to ſhut themſeves up from the converſe of the males, and to think that they were ſent into the world to indulge a fancy, which had it been more general, and more laſting, muſt have ended in the extirpation of the human race. As England did not at the firſt riſe of this fancy afford any religious communities for theſe enthuſiaſts to retire to, they ſought

ſought for them in the foreign monaſteries. But now nunneries began to be introduced into this iſland, among other fopperies of the Romiſh church. That branch of religion which the Roman catholics abroad, ſtile the *leſs* or moſt inſignificant, "*La petite religion*," but more juſtly termed ſuperſtition by proteſtants, began to be approved, to be encouraged, and to increaſe daily. Miraculous cures wrought by the conſecrated bread, oil, and water, were delivered in the writings of the graveſt authors, and believed with the greateſt ſimplicity by the Saxons, who were not leſs credulous, than ignorant. As auſterities began to be looked on as the teſts of devotion, the dreams, viſions and apparitions created by the diſordered fancies of emaciated votaries, were eſteemed as ſo many revelations, and ſerved as foundations for the introduction of purgatory and other doctrines, that have diſgraced the chriſtian ſyſtem. Nothing was imbraced with more fondneſs, amidſt this variety of fopperies, than the relicks of ſaints. Objects which would create horrour in the mind of humane and unprejudiced perſons, when varniſhed with the pencil of papal zeal, put on an appearance, that captivated the ſpectator: ignorant zeal, like the touch of Midas, turns all it handles into gold. The head of a martyr, the arm of a confeſſor, the nail which faſtened a ſaint to his croſs, were accounted ineſtimable treaſures, and thought to convey health to the ſick,

ſtrength

ſtrength to the infirm, and eyes to the blind. A relic was thought to have greater effect in the relief of pains and cure of diſeaſes, than the moſt credulous parent could fancy from an anodyne necklace, or the old Brigantes could have expected from the ſpells and incantations of their Druids.

During the lives of Aidan, Finan, and Colman, none of theſe fopperies were heard of, they knew of no other charms but unaffected piety, exemplary charity, unwearied application in the diſcharge of their paſtoral care, and a conſtant courſe of ſimple, rational, and manly devotion. But when the Scottiſh biſhops ſeceded, the face of religion underwent a great change; her native beauty was hid by external ornaments, and her genuine complexion obſcured by ſpurious charms. Relics were then the reigning mode. No church could be dedicated without relics, no relics were allowed to be genuine but ſuch as were imported from Rome, and the pope, who monopolized this commodity, drew the trade of the whole world into his ports.

Errour has a very fruitful womb, and brings forth a numerous offſpring at a birth; while truth, like the elephant, is long in her pregnancy and never brings but one at a time. From the fondneſs for relics, roſe an extravagant paſſion to viſit the venerable places, which had been hallowed by ſo many martyrs; and journeys to Rome, for this purpoſe, were reputed

puted so meritorious, that peasants, noblemen, the clergy, and laity, males and females vied with one another in giving this test of their devotion, and kings themselves quitted their crowns and their country to end their days in the neighbourhood of these sacred spots. The zeal for these journeys was no less ardent among the English, than it was afterwards all over the west for Crusades. Though to the eye of reason, *a journey* would appear no qualification for the enjoyment of heaven; yet bigotry looked upon it as a qualification sufficient to commute for the want of all others.

Relicks were, properly speaking, the toys of enthusiasts; several puerile rites introduced at this time might justly be stiled their plays; yet, if that term be deemed too ludicrous, the reader may call them by any other name. Among other institutions that took root at this time was auricular confession, which grew so fast that it not only obscured, but likewise choaked a great part of church discipline. To prevent the abuse of this practice, Theodore made use of his pen, and composed a penitentiary, wherein he laid it under proper restraints, and prescribed rules to be observed by confessors in hearing confessions, and in enjoining penance. This penitentiary is a standing argument against those, who insist upon the practice of auricular

confeſſion, as abſolutely and indiſpenſibly neceſſary ſince the prelate ſays expreſsly, that, 'in caſe of neceſſity, confeſſion to GOD alone was ſufficient, and with reſpect to the confeſſion made previous to abſolution,* it was no further neceſſary, than as it ſerved to inform the prieſt what

* Voltaire is rather more explicit on this point, than any other, and has given us a ſhort hiſtory of its introduction, which may not be diſagreeable to the reader. "*Auricular confeſſion*, ſays our author, is ſaid to have been introduced, as early as the ſixth century. The biſhops, at firſt, exacted of their canons, that they ſhould confeſs twice a year, in conſequence of the canons enacted by the council of Atigny, in the year 763; and this is the firſt time it was expreſly commanded. The abbots ſubjected their monks to this yoke, which was, by little and little, impoſed upon the laity. *Public* confeſſion was never uſed in the Weſt: for by that time the barbarians embraced chriſtianity, the abuſe and ſcandal, with which it was attended, had aboliſhed it in the Eaſt, under the patriarch Nectarius, at the end of the fourth century; but public ſinners frequently did penance in the churches of the Weſt, eſpecially in Spain, where the invaſion of the Saracens redoubled the fervour of the chriſtians, whom they had humbled. 'Till the twelfth century, I find no traces of the form of confeſſion, nor of the confeſſionals eſtabliſhed in churches; nor of the previous neceſſity of confeſſing immediately before the communion. In the eighth and ninth centuries there were three Lents, and people generally confeſſed at theſe three ſeaſons of the year. The commandments, or ordinances of the church, which were not well underſtood 'till after the fourth Lateran council, in the year 1215, impoſed the *neceſſity* of doing that *once* a year, which before ſeems to have been more arbitrary and unſettled." *Smollet*'s elegant tranſlation of Voltaire, vol. 1. p. 137.

what degree of penance was proportionate to every particular offence. To proportion the private penance to the crime, was one of the moſt difficult parts of the prieſt's office; and his penitentiary was eſteemed the beſt in this particular. Theodore endeavoured to make this practice uſeful, though he neither expreſsly enjoined, or eſtabliſhed it; and his inſtructions ſerved to prevent its abuſe, and to recommend it to ſcrupulous penitents.

If the inſtitutions already mentioned are ſufficient to prove the aſſiduity and vigour with which Theodore diſcharged the duties of his function, there ſtill remains one, which is no leſs a proof of his abiilities and wiſdom. Nothing could be better calculated for the inſtruction of the people, nothing better deviſed for the advancement of religion.

Ethelbert, and other Saxon kings, on their converſion, had founded cathedrals, and endowed them with large eſtates in land for the maintenance of the biſhops and their clergy. The revenues ariſing from theſe eſtates, together with the voluntary oblations of the chriſtians in each dioceſe, were entirely at the diſpoſal of the biſhop, who generally diſtributed them into four parts; one of which he appropriated to himſelf, and aſſigned the other three parts to his clergy, the poor, and the repair of the church, according to the injunctions of the * apoſtolical canons.

* *Canon. Apoſt.* 21.

At the first establishment of christianity, in these parts, all the clergy lived in the bishop's family, and his house was the general seminary of learning for the whole diocese. Young candidates for holy orders received their education under his roof, and were sent from thence to preach in villages, and to administer baptism and other religious offices in the country churches, which were built in some places for the convenience of divine worship, when these itinerant preachers assumed their ecclesiastical functions. It must be remarked, by the way, that these churches were not yet erected into fixed cures, or titles.

This method of instruction, which was only occasional, was very defective; inasmuch as numbers of towns and villages, * especially in

* See Bede's epistle to Egbert; but as his remark on this subject is too important to be omitted in a history, which, like ours, professes to assert nothing without authority, the reader may excuse our quoting the original. "Qualiora sunt spatia locorum quæ ad gubernacula tuæ Dioeceseos pertinent, quam ut solus per omnia discurrere et in singulis viculis atque agellis verbum Dei prædicare, etiam anni totius emenso curriculo sufficias; necessarium satis est, ut plures tibi sacri operis adjutores adsciscas, &c." In another part of the same epistle, he adds, "Audivimus enim et fama est, quia multæ villæ et viculi nostræ gentis in montibus sint inaccessis et dumosis positi, ubi nunquam multis transeuntibus annis sit visus antistes, qui ibidem aliquid ministerii aut gratiæ cœlestis exhibuerit." If this was the state of the church when Bede addressed this Epistle to Egbert, it could not have possibly been better, but rather must have been worse at the time of

in the wild and mountainous parts of the country, had no inſtructors, were not viſited by the biſhop but ſeldom, and rarely had the ſacraments adminiſtred among them.

Theodore, in his firſt general viſitation, obſerved this defect, and did all in his power to remedy it. * He prevailed upon men of quality and fortune to build churches in cities and towns, to which he allotted certain diſtricts, and diſtinguiſhed them into pariſhes; the cure of which was to be ſerved by a fixed miniſter conſtantly reſident. For their further encouragement in ſo beneficial an undertaking he procured them royal licences, by which, every one who was able to build and endow ſuch churches, at their own expence, were to enjoy the patronage thereof, for ever. And if they erected theſe ſacred edifices within another perſon's manor, the lord of ſuch manor was then deemed the patron.

The endowments of theſe churches generally

of Theodore's firſt viſitation, which was at leaſt thirty years before.

* That the reader may not imagine the author aſſerts theſe particulars without authority, he is referred to the following quotation from the codex Cantuarienſis. "Hic excitavit fidelium voluntatem ut in civitatibus et villis eccleſias fabricarentur, parochias diſtinguerent, et aſſenſus Regios his procuravit, ut, ſi qui ſufficientes eſſent ſuper proprium fundum conſtruere eccleſias, earundem perpetuo patronatu gauderent: Si inter limites alterius alicujus dominii eccleſias facerent, ejuſdem fundi domini notarentur pro patronis." *Elmham.*

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consisted in a certain quantity of glebe, and in slaves, or natives (*nativi*) to till it. To this the bishop added the growing tithes, and the oblations made by the inhabitants within the limits of the parish. † The incumbent could not be put in, or removed, without his consent; a prerogative absolutely necessary to keep the clergy independant of the laity, and at the same time of great service in restraining them from immoralities inconsistent with their function, and from compliances unworthy of their character.

The lords of manors, or great men, generally building only a single church on their manors, the inhabitants were sometimes reduced to a great inconvenience when the manor was extensive, or the parish numerous; the church being then not sufficient to hold them. This inconvenience gave rise to the erection of chapels of ease, in the language of those days, stiled oratories. At their first erection, these chapels were used only for common prayers, and the daily service of the church; baptism, and burials were restrained to the mother church, which still enjoyed all its original tithes and possessions, without any defalcation, for the supply of these oratories.

The same reasons, which rendered the institution of parish churches necessary, being found to hold good for allowing all the offices of

† See Warburton's, the present Bishop of Gloucester's *Alliance, &c.*

of religion to be performed in theſe chapels likewiſe, a liberty was granted to the lords of of manors, to appropriate the third part of the tithes to the miniſters, who officiated in them.

The biſhops themſelves finding, on the increaſe of their converts, that it was not only proper, but neceſſary likewiſe, to put theſe later churches on the ſame footing with thoſe that were firſt erected, they conſented to aſſign them all the tithes within their reſpective precincts, and, by conſecrating church-yards and granting them the right of burials and chriſtenings, to make them diſtinct pariſhes, independant on their mother churches.

Singing was as yet practiſed only in Kent, but by the induſtry of this learned primate it was introduced into all the engliſh churches. The firſt perſon, who practiſed this method of celebrating divine ſervice among the Northumbrians was Eddi, who was ſent for from Kent, by Wulfere, for that purpoſe.

When Theodore firſt arrived there was an extreme want of prelates to anſwer the call of religion, and perform the functions appropriated to their character. Each dioceſs was of equal extent with a kingdom, excepting Northumberland, which, though lately divided, was adminiſtered, but by one biſhop; and Kent, which had always been divided into two ſees, though the ſmalleſt kingdom in the heptarchy. In this viſitation the archbiſhop took

took the opportunity of filling the vacant ſees, and of correcting every diſorder which had crept into the diſcipline of the church. Thinking that the conſecration of Chad was not valid, on account of his being ordained by two prelates, who were not ſound in their adherence to the Romiſh doctrines, he repreſented his ſentiments to that venerable prelate. Chad, who was not leſs remarkable for his humility, than exemplary for his virtues, offered to reſign his dignity, if the archbiſhop harboured the leaſt ſcruples with regard to the validity of his ordination; which had ſuch a powerful effect on the prelate, that he confirmed him in his office, by ſupplying what he thought was defective in his conſecration. The ſee of Rocheſter being vacant by the death of Damian, Theodore conſecrated Putta in his room, who, according to Bede, was more famous for his auſterity, his ſtrict adherence to the Romiſh diſcipline, and his ſkill in church muſic, than his knowledge of the world, and his abilities in politics.

Chad, fond of the quiet of a retired life, had immured himſelf in his monaſtery at Læſtingham, induſtrious to ſhun fame, but famous in proportion to the care he had taken to avoid being ſo. His character had reached Wulfhere, who ſeems to have requeſted Oſwy to ſend him to him to ſupply the ſee of Litchfield, which had been ſome time

time vacant by the death of Jaruman, the laſt incumbent. Wulfhere's requeſt was granted, and Chad was ordained by Theodore, who had likewiſe ordained Biſi, biſhop of the Eaſt-Angles, juſt before.

Theodore, having eſtabliſhed his archiepiſcopal authority in his firſt viſitation, ſtill kept in view the deſign he had formed of dividing the larger ſees, as the beſt expedient for promoting the cauſe of religion and preſerving the reputation of the church. With this reſolution he convened a ſynod * of biſhops, together with ſome preſbyters, well verſed in the canons and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, to meet at † Redford in Nottinghamſhire. From the ſix ſees, that were at that time in England, only four biſhops were preſent, namely, Biſi, biſhop of the Eaſt-Angles, Putta of Rocheſter, Lutherius of the Weſt-Saxons, and Winfrid of Mercia. The ſee of London was at that time vacant, and Wilfrid, who belonged to the ſee of York, ſent his legates, but did not attended himſelf. Some aſcribe his abſence to his entertaining hopes of getting a pall for himſelf, but others to his being apprehenſive of the motion intended to be made in the ſynod.

When

* A. D. 673.

† The word in Bede's original is Herutford, in Alfred's Saxon tranſlation *Hearteford*, which ſome think to be Hertford.

When the ſynod was opened, Theodore put the queſtion to the biſhops, whether they were willing that the church of England ſhould be regulated by the canons of the ancient councils? and on their anſwering in the affirmative, ‡ the book of canons was produced, from whence he read ten, which he had marked before, as neceſſary and ſuitable to the ſtate of the church at that time. The aſſent of the prelates was aſked ſeparately to each of the canons, as they were read; which were ten in number, and to the following effect.

1. That the feſtival of Eaſter might be kept uniformly on the firſt Sunday after the full moon in the ‖ firſt month, March.

2. That no biſhop ſhould incroach upon the juriſdiction or pariſh of another, but be content with the government of the people committed to his charge.

3. That biſhops ſhould not concern themſelves with the monaſteries, ſo as to deprive them

‡ Authors are not well agreed about the meaning of this term, ſome imagine it to be the code of the univerſal church, or a collection of canons approved of by the general council of Chalcedon, tranſlated into Latin by Dionyſius exiguus, and received by all the weſtern churches. Others imagine, that it was ſome book of canons collected or compoſed by the primate himſelf, but theſe are under a miſtake, as is evident from Dr. Smith's notes on cap. v. lib. iv. of Bede's eccleſ. hiſt.

‖ In the original, "*menſis primi*;" in Alfred's tranſlation, "*æreſtan monthes.*"

them of any thing conſecrated to their uſe, or moleſt them in the enjoyment thereof.

4. That no monk ſhould quit his monaſtery, without leave firſt obtained from his abbot; but ſhould perſevere in that obedience he had promiſed on his converſion.

5. That no clergyman ſhould leave his dioceſe, without letters commendatory or demiſſory from his biſhop. And that if he would not return, after proper warning, to his former dioceſe, both the perſon who employed him, and the delinquent ſhould be liable to excommunication.

6. That both biſhops and inferior clergymen, on their travels, ſhould be content with an hoſpitable reception, without exerciſing any part of their function, unleſs firſt licenſed by the biſhop of the dioceſe, in which they then were.

7. That a ſynod ſhould be held twice a year. But ſome objections being ſtarted to this canon, it was, by general conſent, altered thus, "That a ſynod ſhould be held once a year, on the firſt of Auguſt, at Cloveſhoe."

8. That one biſhop ſhould not ambitiouſly perfer himſelf before another, but that they ſhould take place according to their ſeniority.

9. * That new ſees ſhould be erected as the

* Rapin boldly aſſerts, "that this canon was rejected,"

the number of christians increased. *The bishops suspended their opinions concerning this canon for the present.*

10. This canon relates entirely to marriages, ordaining that no one should cohabit with another unless lawfully married. That no one should be guilty of incest, or divorce his wife, unless for fornication, according to the gospel precept. And that if a man should put away his wife, he should not be permitted to marry another, but either be reconciled or remain single.

All these canons, after being maturely considered, were confirmed by the subscription of every one present, before a public notary, and a declaration was made that whoever presumed to violate them, should be

ed," which is diametrically opposite to Bede's account, who tells us, "that all the ten canons were subscribed to," which could not be unless this was received as one. The Latin copy of this canon runs thus, "NONUM capitulum in commune tractatum est, ut plures episcopi crescente numero fidelium, augerentur; *sed de hac re ad presens siluimus:*" the qualifying clause, printed in Italics, seems to have given rise to Rapin's assertion, but, for the reason already assigned, must have been an interpolation; besides this, it is observed by Wharton, in his *Angl. sacr.* tit. 1. p. 426, that the words seem not to be those of the synod, but inserted by some other hand; and the Saxon version, by Alfred, has omitted them, as appears from the following extract, "Se nygetha capitul wæs gemænlice asmead, and te weaxendum than rime geleafsuma ma biscopa ætycte wæron."

be degraded from his ſacerdotal office, and excommunicated.

The ninth canon, not expreſſing any determinate time for its being put into execution, was probably left to the diſcretion of Theodore. † Not long after the meeting of this ſynod, Biſi being affected with a diſorder, which rendered him incapable of taking care of his dioceſe, the archbiſhop divided his ſee, and conſecrated a biſhop for each diviſion; one of which was occupied by Æcci, who fixed his ſee at Dunwich, and the other by Bedwin, who placed his ſeat at Hexham.

‡ Winfrid, biſhop of Mercia, not caring to ſubmit to Theodore's partition of his dioceſe, was depoſed, and Sexhulf, abbot and founder of the monaſtery of Peterborough, was conſecrated in his ſtead.

Wilfrid ſtill continued ſole biſhop of the Northumbrians. Too great in power and reputation to be attacked by the archbiſhop, he lived rather like a prince than a private perſon, he had no leſs than nine abbies, all the abbots and abbeſſes throughout the kingdom were under his direction, the education of the principal nobility was commit-

† A. D. 673, or A. D. 674.

‡ A. D. 674. but A. D. 675 by others. The cauſe of his depoſition is not particularized by Bede, who tells us, that it was owing to his diſobedience, without informing us of the point in which he diſobeyed.

ted to his charge, his wealth was immenſe, he continued in favour with Egfrid, whoſe queen, Etheldriad, looked on him as an oracle, and had given him large tracts of land, with her huſband's conſent, to endow his rich monaſtery of Hexham.

An occurrence happened not long after, which furniſhed the archbiſhop with an opportunity of putting the ninth canon in force againſt this over-grown prelate. Egfrid's queen, in a fit of devotion, having quitted her huſband, retired to the abbey, where ſhe took the veil, and received the habit from the hands of Wilfrid. Egfrid, imagining that his queen had taken this ſtep purely by the inſtigations of this prelate, was not a little offended, but deferred his reſentment till a proper opportunity: his anger however was ſo great, that he could not help ſhewing it by his coldneſs to Wilfrid, whom he looked upon from that period with a leſs favourable eye than he had done before.

After this divorce Egfrid married Emenburga, who being diſguſted at * the pomp and magnificence in which Wilfrid then lived,

* His method of living ſeemed the more luxurious when ſet in contraſt with that of Aidan and the other Scottiſh biſhops. The parſimony and abſtinence of theſe prelates was ſuch, that when they quitted Landisfarne, they ſcarce left any buildings there but the church. They had no

ed, inflamed the king's reſentment by her remonſtrances, and at laſt worked him up to

no other wealth but their cattle. If money was at any time given them by the rich, they immediately diſtributed it to the poor. They had no notion of providing ſplendid houſes for the reception of great men, or of amaſſing riches for their entertainment, ſince the only reaſon of their coming was, to offer up their prayers to the deity, or to hear the ſublime truths of the goſpel. The king himſelf would, on theſe occaſions, come with no more than five or ſix perſons at moſt in his retinue, and, after the ſervice was over, would generally go home. Yet, if he chanced at any time to ſtay for refreſhment, he was contented with the ſimple fare of the monks, without expecting or deſiring better. The whole ſtudy of theſe pious prelates was, to ſerve *God*, without any views of worldly intereſt, and their ſole care was to purify their hearts, not to pamper their appetites. So far were they from any mercenary views, ſo perfectly free from avarice, that they would not accept of any grants of lands and manors for endowing monaſteries, 'till they were compelled to it. The intereſt of religion was their ſole motive, and this noble principle ſhone forth ſo conſpicuouſly in all their actions, that they were juſtly reverenced and admired wherever they went, or whenever they ſpake.

Theſe venerable perſonages were obliged to quit their habitations by Wilfrid, and ſuch of their monaſteries as he did not think fit to keep himſelf were diſtributed among his creatures. At Ripon, he entertained the two kings, Egfrid and his brother Ælwin, with all their retinue, for three days together. Not content with the monaſteries, which fell into his hands by theſe means, he was continually ſolliciting for the grants of manors and lands to found new ones, and firſt introduced the practice of alienating the demeſnes of the crown, for pious uſes; a practiſe, which even in Bede's days had ſo much exhauſted

ſuch a pitch, that he was reſolved to have him depoſed.

Theodore

hauſted the revenues of the Northumbrian kings, that they were not able to reward the ſervice of their miniſters, to provide for the ſupport of the ſons of their nobility, or to defend their country againſt an invaſion. Wilfrid habituated to the pageantry and pomp of the Romiſh religion abroad, could not help living up to it at home: his buildings were palaces, conſtructed entirely with marble, and decorated with all the ornaments of architecture; his furniture was ſumptuous beyond expreſſion; his table was daily ſerved with gold plate; his equipage was clothed in the richeſt manner; his attendants, which were generally mounted on horſeback in his excurſions, were ſo numerous, that they ſeemed rather an army than a retinue; his wealth, notwithſtanding his extravagance, was inexhauſtible; his liberality was boundleſs, and every thing about him was grand, ſplendid, and magnificent. *Bede's hiſt. eccleſ.* lib. iii. c. 26. *Epiſt. ad Echert. Antiſt. Eddii vit. St. Wilfrid.* c. 20 — 60. That the reader may not think theſe circumſtances are exaggerated, it will not be unſeaſonable to tranſcribe Voltaire's repreſentation of the opulence and power of the clergy on the continent. This celebrated author informs us that, "a long time before Charlemagne, there were benedictine abbots powerful enough to raiſe rebellions; and that the abbot Fontenelle had the boldneſs to aſſemble troops, and put himſelf at the head of a party againſt Charles Martel." After this, he gives the following account of one of our own countrymen, who ſettled in France at the requeſt of Charlemagne: "The biſhops and abbots, ſays our author, had a great number of ſlaves: the abbot Alcuin is reproached with having had no fewer than *twenty thouſand*, nor is this number incredible; Alcuin poſſeſſed *three abbeys*, the lands of which might have been inhabited by *twenty thouſand* perſons. Theſe ſlaves, known by the name of Serfs, could

Theodore, the archbiſhop, being ſent for with this view embraced the opportunity of enforcing the ninth canon of Redford; beſides which, it was agreed upon, between him and the king, that the ſee of York ſhould likewiſe be filled up, which Wilfrid at that time enjoyed, together with that of Bernicia. Boſt, or Boſa, being accordingly conſecrated biſhop of Deira, was placed in the ſee of York, Eata in that of * Hexham, and Eadhed into that of † Sidnaceſter.

could neither marry, nor change their habitation, without permiſſion of the Abbot. They were obliged to drive their carts fifty leagues, when he commanded this ſervice. They worked for him three days in the week, and he ſhared all the fruits of their labour. Thoſe benedictines indeed could not be charged with having, by their wealth, violated their vow of poverty, for no ſuch vow they made. They took no other engagement, at their admiſſion into the order, than that of being obedient to the abbot: they even frequently received grants of uncultivated grounds, which they grubbed with their own hands, and afterwards portioned out to the ſerfs, to be cultivated. They raiſed villages, and even little towns around the monaſteries. There they ſtudied; and they alone were the means of preſerving books, by tranſcribing different copies: finally, in thoſe barbarous times, when all nations were ſo miſerable, it was a great conſolation to find in cloiſters a ſecure retreat againſt tyranny." *Smollet's tranſlation of Voltaire*, Vol. 1. p. 133.

* This ſee contained the country between the Tees and the river Alne in Northumberland.

† This dioceſe, ſince Egfrid's conqueſt of Lindſey, about four years before, had been likewiſe adminiſtred by Wilfrid.

Wilfrid not ſubmitting to this partition of his dioceſe, though authorized both by the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers, a farther partition was made of the See of Landisfarne, which had been left in his poſſeſſion, and Eata was fixed in that diviſion, which bore the antient title; whilſt the country of the Picts was aſſigned to Trumwin, and Tunberct ſucceeded Eata in Hexham.*

Wil-

* Rapin, who was a perſon of republican principles, makes very free with the character of Theodore on this occaſion, and aſcribes this meaſure to ambition. Eddius, who was a cotempory with Wilfrid and writes with a manifeſt deſign to prejudice the world in his favour, aſcribes it to envy, the inſtigations of ſome evil ſpirit, or the force of money. Dr. Smith, the Editor of Bede, repreſents it as illegal. But it is evident from the whole of Theodore's conduct, that he was a man of great temperance and prudence, that his ſole motive was the good of the church and the advancement of the chriſtian religion. He had no reaſon to envy Wilfrid on any account; the imputation of corruptneſs is void of the leaſt ſhadow of proof, and he was obliged by duty to ſee the canons obeyed, and to provide for the inſtruction of his dioceſe. How neceſſary it was to erect more ſees, for this end in the Northumbrian province, appears from Bede's letter to Ecbert, where he repreſents the dioceſe of York as too large, even after three ſees had been taken out of it. If that venerable writer conceived a further diviſion to be the only means of furniſhing the people with proper opportunities of inſtruction, the neceſſity muſt have been ſtill more urgent when Egfrid, in concert with Theodore, erected the ſees above mentioned. Dr. Smith endeavours to prove that the partition of the biſhopric, for the ſake of in-

Wilfrid, thus deprived of his revenues, went in a pique to court, where he found the king and the archbiſhop ſitting in judgment and giving audience to the people. As ſoon as he got admittance, he boldly aſked the king and the archbiſhop, "why they *robbed* him,* *like pirates*, of his income, which had been given him by princes for pious uſes, without his having been guilty of any fault?" the king and archbiſhop not intimidated at his behaviour, but willing to give him an oblique hint of

inſtruction, could not have been Theodores motive, becauſe it would not have warranted his depriving Wilfrid of all that he had, and leaving him without any proviſion; to ſupport his charge of illegality, he urges, that Wilfrid's depoſition could not be defended from the ninth canon of Redford, becauſe though it was conſidered maturely by the members, yet nothing was determined at that time; and the biſhops *ſuſpended their judgment.* In anſwer to the Doctor's firſt argument it ſhould be obſerved, that Wilfrid was at firſt left in poſſeſſion of the whole ſee of Landisfarne, and was not deprived of it, 'till his oppoſition to the primate's authority; with reſpect to the ſecond argument it ſhould be remembered, that the qualifying clauſe, which the doctor urges in his favour, is plainly an interpolation of ſome modern hand, is not mentioned by Alfred in his Saxon tranſlation, and, if admitted, renders Bede's account of this Synod inconſiſtent and full of contradiction. Wilfrid's oppoſition to the authenticity of the ninth canon muſt have been made with a very ill grace, becauſe though he was abſent in perſon, yet he was legally preſent by his deputies, who ſubſcribed the canons, together with the prelates, and acknowledged them in his name.

* Eddius's word are, *prædonum more defraudarent.*

of the reaſon of his deprivation, anſwered, "that they were far from laying any crime to his charge, but had done their duty, and would not repeal their ordinance." Not ſatisfied with this reply, Wilfrid appealed to the ſee of Rome, for redreſs. Surprized at the ſingularity of this ſtep, or the warmth with which Wilfrid delivered himſelf, the audience burſt out a laughing, which ſo much incenſed the prelate, that he paſſed a *dreadful imprecation againſt all that were preſent.

When Wilfrid went to the ſea ſhore to take ſhipping for Rome, he was attended in his way by thouſands of monks, who teſtified the profoundeſt ſorrow for his departure, and prayed with the greateſt fervour that he might meet with a happy voyage. Sailing with a fair weſterly wind, he landed at Frizeland, where he was honourably received by ‡ Adalgiſe, the king of that country. In this kingdom he ſtayed all the winter, and employed his time in converting its princes and other inhabitants, who were idolators, at his firſt arrival among

* The purport of it was, that thoſe who laughed, through envy, at his diſgrace, ſhould on that day twelvemonth, weep bitterly at their own misfortunes. Which Eddius tells us was literally fulfilled, by the death of Alfwin, who was ſlain in battle, and when his corpſe was brought to York cauſed an univerſal ſorrow.

‡ Authors differ very much in the orthography of this prince's name, ſome ſpelling it, as in the text; Eddius writes it both *Algiſe*, and *Adgiliſe*; and Dr. Smith, in his life of this prelate, *Aldgiliſe*.

among them. During his ſtay, Adalgiſe received letters from ‖Thierry king of the Francs, and Ebroin mayor of the palace, offering him a prodigious ſum of money, if he would deliver up Wilfrid to him alive, or ſend them his head. Adalgiſe, ſhocked at the offer, ordered the letters to be read at a public entertainment, after which he tore them into pieces and threw them into the fire, before the face of the meſſengers, bidding them tell their maſter, 'that he wiſhed every perſon, who violated his faith, or betrayed his friend for avarice, might be reduced to aſhes in the ſame manner.'

* In the ſpring, Wilfrid continued his journey through Alſace, where Dagobert received him with great hoſpitality. This prince had been entertained by Wilfrid in his exile, and, in return, preſſed him to accept of the biſhopric of Straſburg, and ſettle in his country. Wilfrid, perſiſting in his reſolution to viſit Rome, declined the prince's offer, who,

‖ According to Eddius, the enemies of Wilfrid, ſuppoſing that he would take the direct road to Rome, and land at Quintavie, or Eſtaples in Picardy, wrote to Thierry, king of the Franks, and Ebroin, his mayor, either to keep him in perpetual exile, or put his attendants to the ſword, and ſtrip him of all he had. Wilfrid, whom Eddius names Wulfrid, paſſing that way from his dioceſe of Litchfield, which he had been depoſed from, was, in his paſſage through France, treated in the manner preſcribed, being miſtaken for Wilfrid, on account of the affinity of his name.

* A. D. 679.

who, on his departure, made him a great many rich preſents, and ſent an honourable eſcorte with him as far as the Milaneſe.

Reſpected beyond the Alps, no leſs than in France, Wilfrid was entertained by Brithere, or Bertharide, king of the Lombards, with no leſs reſpect, than he had been by the other princes through whoſe dominions he had already paſſed. This laſt prince had been tempted by the ſame offers to betray the prelate, but rejected them with the ſame diſdain, as Adalgiſe, and conducted him in his way to the holy ſee.

When Wilfrid arrived at Rome, he found the whole city poſſeſſed with a longing deſire of ſeeing him. For Theodore had already ſent one Coenwald a monk to inform his holineſs of the quarrel between him and Wilfrid. Antecedent to this prelate's arrival, a council had been aſſembled to enquire into the ſtate of religion in this iſland, which decreed, that it ſhould have twelve biſhops, whom the primate ſhould promote to their reſpective ſees and conſecrate according to the canons.

Wilfrid preſented his petition to pope Agatho, in a council of † fifteen biſhops, and thirty-ſeven preſbyters, wherein, after ſome compliments to the ſee of Rome, he ſet forth, "that in a ſynodical meeting held by Theodore, wherein other prelates concurred with him,

† Dr. Smith ſays, that there were more than 50 biſhops and preſbyters.

him, his biſhopric, which he had held for ten years, without being accuſed of any crime, was invaded in ‡ a violent manner, and not one, but three other biſhops placed in the ſame ſee, though their preferment was inconſiſtent with the canons. That notwithſtanding this ill treatment, he had not behaved ſeditiouſly or tumultuouſly in oppoſing their proceedings, but had made his proteſt againſt them, and appealed to the apoſtolical ſee, whoſe ſentence he was determined to obey, whether it ſhould confirm his depoſition, though he was conſcious of no crime that deſerved that puniſhment; or it ſhould order him to be reſtored to his dioceſe, in which caſe he ſhould inſiſt upon the expulſion of the preſent intruders; or if it ſhould be thought expedient to increaſe the number of biſhops, he hoped that the council would order them to be ſuch as he might live with in peace and unity, and that the biſhop might take them from ſuch of the clergy as might be agreed upon in a full ſynod held for that purpoſe."

The ſynod, highly pleaſed with this precedent of an appeal to Rome, and willing to encourage this practice in others, decreed, with a ſalvo in favour of Gregory's conſtitution and their late Synod, "That Wilfrid ſhould be reſtored to the ſee which he held before; that ſuch coadjutors as he ſhould chooſe ſhould

‡ The words of the original are, "raptorum more invadere."

ſhould be ordained by the archbiſhop, with the conſent of a Synod; and that thoſe who had been made biſhops in his abſence ſhould be expelled; declaring, at the ſame time, that every perſon who ſhould oppoſe theſe orders ſhould be ſubject to puniſhment; if in holy orders, to be degraded; but if laymen, or kings, to be excommunicated."

Wilfrid, having thus carried his point, ſtayed at Rome till the Eaſter following, when another Synod was held by Agatho, againſt the † *Monothelites*, in which Wilfrid ſubſcribed to the council, and gave an account of the faith of the Engliſh churches in that point.

On his diſmiſſion, he returned home with a copy of the ſentence, under the hands and ſeals of the members of the ſynod, and, landing in the Northumbrian territories, delivered it to king Egfrid, who called a council of his clergy and nobility to conſider the contents.

When the bull was read, a general diſatisfaction appeared in the aſſembly, ſome indeed went ſo far as to ſay it was a forgery; others, that it was obtained by bribery. The king and the archbiſhop incenſed againſt

† This ſect was ſo called becauſe they admitted but one will in our bleſſed Saviour. Their doctrine was firſt broached about the year 620, by Theodore, biſhop of Pharan; the Emperour Heraclius was an adherent to it. But it was condemned in the ſynod above mentioned, ſtiled the third council of Conſtantinople, in the year 680, the author and favourers of it being anathematiſed.

againſt Wilfrid * for applying to a foreign juriſdiction, and looking on it as an inſult to the civil and eccleſiaſtical government of the nation, ordered him to be taken into cuſtody, and to be impriſoned for nine months.

The pope had ſent over John the precentor of St. Peter's, together with † Biſcop the abbot and founder of the monaſtery of Wyremouth, to enquire whether the church of England was free from the errour of the Monothelites, mentioned above.

* Eddius repreſents this ſtep to have been taken at the inſtigation of queen Emenburga, who is reported likewiſe to have robbed the prelate of a bag of relicks. Thoſe who have been any ways converſant in the writings of popiſh bigots may eaſily gueſs at the conſequence of ſuch an action of the queen's. By the hiſtorians of thoſe days, ſhe is repreſented as being haunted by an evil Spirit, as long as the relicks remained in her poſſeſſion; and it is ſomewhat ſurprizing that Dr. Smith, who appears to be prejudiced in favour of Wilfrid ſhould ſeem to give credit to ſuch a ſilly ſtory.

† Biſcop had been to Rome to get a bull in confirmation of the privileges granted by Egfrid to his abbey. He viſited the holy ſee no leſs than ſix times, from whence he brought books and relicks for his monaſtery. He is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt perſon that introduced glazing, if not glaſs-making into this iſland. Malmeſbury tells us that 'artem vitrarium primus ad ſuas partes attulit:' and Bede "vitri factores, artifices videlicet Britanniis eatenus incognitas, ad cancellandas Eccleſiæ &c. feneſtras." Bede, who was his ſcholar, has given us a very minute account of his indefatigable induſtry, and his eminent virtues, in his hiſtory of the abbots of Wyremouth.

As ſoon as the precentor arrived, Theodore convened a ſynod at Hatfield in Hertfordſhire. This aſſembly, which conſiſted entirely of the clergy, agreed unanimouſly to receive the firſt five councils, which inculcate the doctrine of the Trinity, and, after having ſigned a confeſſion of their faith in the legate's preſence, delivered it unto him, for the ſatisfaction of the pope. Notwithſtanding what had paſſed at Rome, the ſynod was likewiſe willing to give a ſingular mark of their independency, and, before their diſſolution, proceeded to confirm the ninth canon of the council of Redford, in which the augmentation of the number of biſhopricks is particularly provided for.

In conſequence of this ordinance, the Mercian dioceſe, out of which Hereford had already been taken, was ſtill farther ſubdivided, ſo as to compoſe five ſees. Sexwulf, who had enjoyed the whole ſee of Mercia, ſtill retained Litchfield, the beſt endowed, and largeſt of the five; Ethelwin was placed in Sidnaceſter, Cuthwin in Lieceſter, and Boſel in Worceſter; Hereford was ſtill in the poſſeſſion of Putta, whom we have already mentioned, and Dorcheſter was governed by a prelate not inferiour to any that have been mentioned.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting, Wilfrid was cloſely confined in his priſon, where, according to Eddius, he continued with an inflexible

inflexible reſolution to maintain the authenticity of the pope's bull, though tempted with the proſpect of being reſtored to part of his ſee, and the promiſe of further favours, if he would but diſown it. Near a year had paſſed in this manner, when an unforeſeen accident procured him his enlargement.

The king and queen coming to the monaſtery of Coldingham, where Æbbe, that prince's aunt, was abbeſs, ſhe embraced this opportunity, to ſollicit for the prelate's liberty; pretending that a diſorder, which the queen then laboured under, was entirely owing to the ſeverity ſhowed to Wilfrid.

Egfrid, though a religious prince, and applied to by a perſon whom he could ſcarce deny, was reſolved ſtill to maintain his royal authority from any encroachments, and even in his compliance with Æbbe's requeſt, provided for the ſupport of his dignity, and the ſatisfaction of his reſentment. He conſented to Wilfrid's enlargement only on condition that he quitted the Northumbrian territories. Theſe were hard conditions for one of Wilfrid's ambition to ſubmit to, but as he had no other expedient, he choſe rather to owe his enlargement to his compliance, than to prolong his confinement by his obſtinacy.

Thus baniſhed from his ſee, and obliged to abandon his native country, Wilfrid,

went with a few companions into Mercia; where he was entertained by Beorthwald, a nephew of king Ethelred, who hearing of his arrival went to meet him, and having been informed of his troubles from his own mouth, he begged him, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, to ſettle in his country, and aſſigned him lands for the ſubſiſtance of the clergy who accompanied him in his exile. Scarce had Wilfrid begun to build a ſmall monaſtery, for the accommodation of his friends, when Ethelred, who had married Oſtrytha, Egfrid's ſiſter, ſent poſitive orders to Beorthwald not to let him ſtay a ſingle day longer in his dominions. Obliged to yield to the hatred of this prince, Wilfrid left his attendants behind him in charge of the little monaſtery, he had begun to erect, and retired into the dominions of Kentwin, king of the Weſt-Saxons; but this prince having married a ſiſter of Ermenburga, Egfrid's wife, he was obliged to remove once more to avoid her reſentment.

The Eaſt Saxons and Angles, being at this time tributary to the Mercians, or under their influence, the fugitive prelate had no chriſtian ſtate in the iſland to retreat to for an aſylum from his enemies.

In this diſtreſs he had recourſe to a place whoſe mountainous ſituation ſecured it from an invaſion, but the inhabitants, being no leſs ſavage than the face of their country, he

he ſeemed to run a greater hazard from them, than from the perſons he was endeavouring to eſcape. Suſſex was the kingdom he choſe for his aſylum, the inhabitants of which were ſtill pagans, but their monarch, Ethelwalch, had lately been converted. The humane king had no ſooner heard the recital of his diſtreſs but he ſympathized with him in his ſufferings, and aſſured him that neither the power of riches, nor the menaces of an angry monarch ſhould be able to prevail on him to withdraw his protection, nor to ſurrender him up to his enemies.

* This country having ſcarce had any rain for three years before his arrival, was at that time grievouſly oppreſſed by famine, ſeveral of the people, to avoid the excruciating pains of a lingering death, had made away with themſelves, and their example was ſo much approved of by the ſurviving inhabitants, that the nation was upon the point of being deſolated. Wilfrid, at this criſis, inſtructed this miſerable people in the art of fiſhing, which bringing them a preſent relief, they honoured him as a father and a ſaviour, imbibed his dictates with the greateſt avidity, and profeſſed chriſtianity with ſo much readineſs that, in a ſhort time, moſt of the nobility, and many thouſands of the

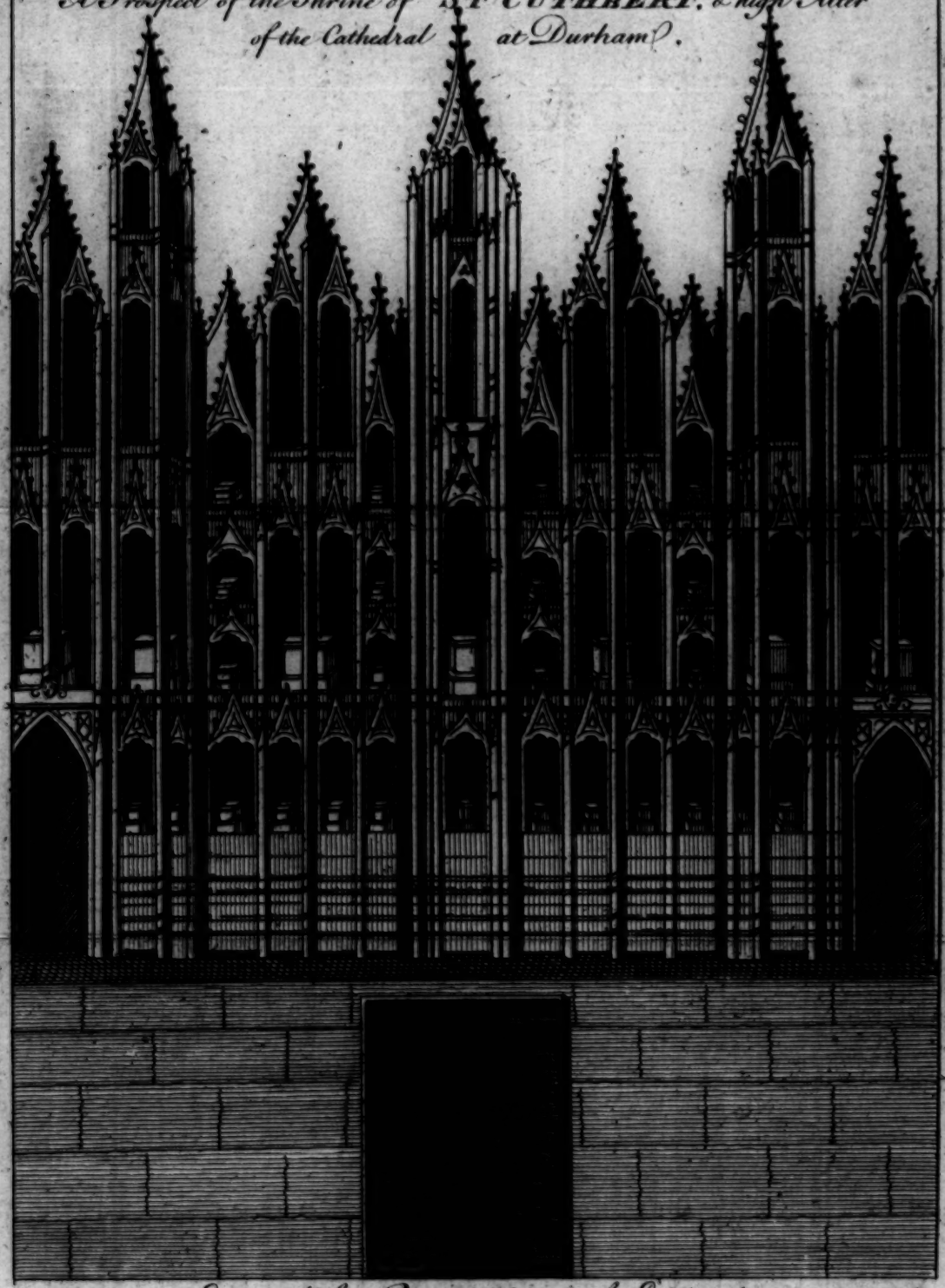
* A. D. 681.

common people were converted. The king ſeconding his endeavours, granted him a large tract of land about Selſey for the maintenance of a body of clergy to aſſiſt him in his pious work. Cedwalla, whom he had ſerved in his diſtreſs, in this retreat, being enabled by his advice to recover his crown, rewarded him amply, when ſettled in the throne of the Weſt Saxons, by granting him a fourth part of the Iſle of Wight, which he had reduced. This grant enabled Wilfrid to extend the chriſtian religion into another country, which had not yet received its light; and the king ſtill countenancing his endeavours, in ſome manner contributed to the total converſion of his nation.

Wilfrid's ſucceſs in propagating the goſpel among the South-Saxons, had a great effect upon the diſpoſition of Theodore, and made him willing to overlook the former conduct of a perſon, whom he had always treated with great lenity, and whom providence itſelf had ſo remarkably favoured in his miniſtry.

During Wilfrid's abode in this hoſpitable retreat, which continued no leſs than five years, there happened ſeveral revolutions in the church, that paved the way for his recall and his enjoyment of his favourite ſee of Hexham. When Theodore had found him irreclaimable to all his remonſtrances, he thought himſelf obliged to ordain a biſhop

A Prospect of the Shrine of ST CUTHBERT. & high Alter of the Cathedral at Durham.



Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

ſhop for Landisfarne, which ſee Wilfrid at that time enjoyed; Eata, who had long been ſuperiour of the monaſtery in that place, and was deſirous of being tranſlated thither, was placed in this ſee, and Tunbert ſucceeded him in that of Hexham.

* In the ſynod held at Twyford on the Alne, Tunbert, being depoſed, for ſome unknown crime, † St. Cuthbert was, by the unanimous

* A. D. 684.

† This canonized prelate, was at firſt a monk in the monaſtery of Mailroſs, of which he became prior on the death of Boiſil. During his reſidence in this place, he applied himſelf to his ſtudies with indefatigable aſſiduity, and diſcharged the functions of a preacher with a primitive and apoſtolical ardour. At that time there were few or no churches erected, and preaching was practiſed by particular perſons, who travelled into different parts for that purpoſe. As ſoon as the preacher's arrival in any town was known, the inhabitants would immediately flock round him, and with incredible ardour imbibe his doctrine. The objects of Cuthbert's miniſtry, were not the wealthy and the rich, but the captive, the poor, and the diſtreſſed. Poverty always pleaded effectually with this pious itinerant, who being of a robuſt conſtitution, extended his miniſtry to places whoſe ſituation was enough to intimidate, and affect with horrour. The auſterities he practiſed in this cloiſter were very great. His devotion was exemplary, his behaviour was modeſt, his compaſſion remarkable, his temperance eminent, and his contempt of ſplendour ſuch as indicated a mind truly great. His tenaciouſneſs of diſcipline was ſuch, as rendered his monaſtery famous, and induced Eata, his abbot, to remove him to that of Landisfarne. When elevated

unanimous consent of all the bishops then present, chosen as a person fit to succeed him. But this worthy personage, who was at

vated to the mitre, against his will, he discharged that sacred function in a manner that deserves both praise and admiration. The flock committed to his charge, were fed with the greatest care and assiduity, yet what contributed more to their erudition than any thing else, was, that his life enforced all his precepts. He was always a protector of the distressed and a patron of the poor. The afflicted always found him a comforter, while the insolent and proud experienced him no less powerful in depressing their arrogance, and in subduing their violence.

His abstinence in this elevated station was not less than in his more retired life, but what rendered him more worthy of his dignity were, his boundless charity, which was exercised towards every object of compassion, and his inviolable regard for virtue, which adorned him more than the ensigns of his function. The manner in which his death is recorded shows him to have been no less exemplary for his patience than his piety, but the miracles ascribed to him by Bede savour too much of the gothic taste of the times, which used to over load even their buildings with ornaments, and to bury what was truly great under a variety of pretty fancies. The relicks of this saint were in so much esteem in the twelfth century, as appears from a manuscript in the registry of Durham, that William, bishop of that diocese, in the year 1284, granted an indulgence, whereby every one who visited this saint's tomb were to be excused forty days of his penance on that account. These holy remains were afterwards removed to the cathedral of Durham, where an altar was erected to him in conjunction with the illustrious Bede, whose life and writings likewise deserve our notice, though they should not be deemed sufficient to entitle him to the appellation of a saint.

at that time retired from the world, and lived in the iſle of Farne the life of an hermit, would willingly have excuſed himſelf from the care of ſo public a ſtation, had not the king went in perſon with biſhop Trumwine, and prevailed upon him with prayers, and tears, to comply with the choice of the ſynod. Yet as this venerable prelate ſhowed a particular fondneſs for the ſee of Landisfarne, Eata, under whom he had been educated, quitted it to him, and returned to his former ſee of Hexham.

At this period the clergy, who had followed Wilfrid in his exile, and were his companions in his diſgrace, began to grow weary of living in a ſtrange country, and longed to return home. The proviſion which was made for them at Selſey, in the Iſle of Wight, was far from ſatisfying their deſires; their very ſituation gave them cauſe for diſcontent. The ravages which Cedwalla was continually making before their eyes, were highly ſhocking to men of their character, and their whole ſtudy was to find out ſome expedient to extricate themſelves from the difficulties with which they were ſurrounded.

Egfrid, the irreconcileable enemy of Wilfrid was now dead, and a great obſtacle removed, by that means, towards their making their peace with Theodore, the archbiſhop of Canterbury. Wilfrid ſeems to have

have made uſe of the mediation of Earconwald biſhop of London for this purpoſe. Though it muſt be confeſſed that Eddius, who ſeems too officious in applauding Wilfrid, and in blackening the character of Theodore, repreſents the primate as being touched with remorſe for his treatment of Wilfrid, and as ſending to him, in order to make a confeſſion of his injuſtice, and to beg him to be reconciled. Be that as it will; Theodore was ſo pleaſed with the ſubmiſſion of a prelate, whoſe late ſervices had ſhewn him to be a perſon of great abilities, and had made ſome atonement for his former contumacy, that he was eaſily reconciled; and with a generoſity ſuitable to his dignity employed his intereſt with Ethelred, king of Mercia, to get him reſtored to the monaſteries, that were formerly given him in that prince's dominions.

Aldfrid, who ſucceed Egfrid in the kingdom of Northumbria was applied to by letter on the ſame occaſion, but ſeemed to take no notice of it till upwards of a year afterward.

Wilfrid at his firſt return to Northumberland, was truſted with the adminiſtration of the ſee of Landisfarne, which was then vacant by St. Cuthbert's reſignation, who went that year to die at Farne-iſland. He continued in his office about a year, at the expiration of which Eadbert being appointed to ſucceed Cuthbert, he quitted it in his favour.

In

In the ſecond year after Aldfrid had aſcended the throne, * he conſented to reſtore Wilfrid, having demurred for ſome time from an apprehenſion of his haughty and turbulent diſpoſition.

† St. John of Beverly being likewiſe at this juncture tranſlated to the ſee of York, Wilfrid was again put in poſſeſſion of that of Hexham. During the life of Theodore, Wilfrid paſſed his days in his ſee without any diſturbance or diſcontent, but when that primate died his troubles revived.

Whether Wilfrid thought himſelf freed from his engagements with the archbiſhop, at his death, or imagined that he ſhould be able to gain his point, when ſo powerful an obſtacle was removed out of the way, he grew very troubleſome, oppoſed the canons and conſtitutions made in his primacy, and inſiſted on his being reſtored to the ‡ monaſtery of Rippon.

Wil-

* A. D. 686. † A. D. 687.

‡ This monaſtery was founded by Eata, under whom St. Cuthbert was ſometime prior, till removed to Landisfarne, and was at firſt filled with ſcotch monks. But they being turned out for non-confirmity to the romiſh cuſtoms by Alchfrid, it was given to Wilfrid, who, enlarged it with ſeveral grants from the crown, erected a magnificent church and got a confirmation of its privileges from the pope. While he was proſecuting his appeal at Rome, it was given to Eadhed by king Egfrid, upon his being driven from his biſhopric of Sidnaceſter A. D. 679. Whether it was reſtored to Eata, on the demiſe of Eadhed, is

Wilfrid had ſo much intereſt with the nobility and clergy, by means of his preſents, which he diſtributed with a laviſh hand, that he created king Aldfrid no little uneaſineſs. No other expedient could be thought of to keep him quiet, but by forcing him to ſubſcribe to the canons and conſtitutions made during the primacy of Theodore. As ſome of theſe ſeemed to be inconſiſtent with his claims, he excepted to them particularly, and offered at the ſame time to ſubſcribe to ſuch as he liked. A ſubſcription to them all being inſiſted on, he choſe rather to ſubmit to exile; and being baniſhed by Aldfrid, * retired to Ethelred king of the middle Angles. Sexulf, biſhop of this dioceſe being dead, the king gave him the adminiſtration of the ſee of Leiceſter. The ſee of Canterbury being likewiſe vacant, by Ethelred's orders, he ordained Oft for biſhop of Worceſter, and two years after Suidbert biſhop of Frieſland. The particulars of Wilfrid's tranſactions during his reſidence in Mercia have not yet come to our knowledge; that he continued obſtinate in his diſobedience is what we need not doubt, but the cauſes of his obſtinacy were various. His intereſt at the court of Rome was the chief, his being certain of a ſupport from thence encouraged this per-

is uncertain; but St. John of Beverly, who ſucceeded him in the ſee of Hexham, was undoubtedly poſſeſſed of it, when biſhop of York, and ſeems, from making it his uſual reſidence, to have gotten it annexed to the ſee.

* A. D. 690.

perverſity, and kept his inſolence alive. Archdeacon Boniface, who had been his tutour, was chief miniſter to Agatho and the ſucceeding popes; Siſinius, another of his friends, was likewiſe in ſuch eſteem at Rome, that he was afterwards promoted to the papacy. Sergius filled the papal chair, and, at the inſtance of ſuch powerful advocates, eaſily granted letters enforcing Agatho's decree, and ordering that Wilfrid ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of all his claims. The letters, which were eſteemed at Rome, as a noble effort of papal power, loſt all their virtue as ſoon as they paſſed the water; the king, the nobility, and the biſhops rejected them with a general indignation; the two firſt being determined to maintain the rights and prerogative of the crown, which ſeemed to be threatened by this interpoſition of a foreign power; and the biſhops being as ſteady in aſſerting the liberties and independance of the Engliſh churches.

In this mutual altercation no leſs than twelve years elapſed, during which ſpace St. John of Beverly, biſhop of York, had the adminiſtration of the ſee of Hexham, and Wilfrid that of Leiceſter. During a diſpute of this kind the country could not be free from diſtraction; Aldfred was concerned for the peace of his realm, the biſhops were alarmed on account of their ec-

cleſiaſtical diſcipline, which they ſaw openly inſulted, and in danger of being entirely ſubverted; Wilfrid was not leſs apprehenſive on account of his claims, and the ſenſible part of the laity could not but grieve to ſee the church thus torn into factions, and all ſight of the good of the people loſt in the duſt of debate; all parties could not but wiſh to have the affair terminated, becauſe all parties thought the truth was on their ſide.

It was reſolved therefore to call a council of all the biſhops in England, in order to bring this diſpute to an iſſue; and the place appointed for this purpoſe, was the plain of Neſterfield in the north-riding of Yorkſhire, where tents were pitched for holding their aſſembly. Berctwald, the archbiſhop, came in perſon to preſide at this convocation, ſeveral abbots likewiſe attended, and the king was preſent with his council.

When they met, it was thought neceſſary to have Wilfrid before them, and a biſhop was deputed to fetch him to the ſynod. As pope Sergius, who had eſpouſed his quarrel, was now dead, it was imagined that he might have been better diſpoſed towards an accommodation; but Wilfrid knew the court of Rome too well to doubt of his being ſupported in any meaſures he ſhould make

make uſe of to bring the church of England under ſubjection to her tyranny.

When he came before the council, he appeared not with the air of a criminal who had broken the canons, or a ſubject that was under their juriſdiction, but with that of a ſuperiour, who contemned their authority, braved their reſentment, and arraigned their conduct. When urged to ſubſcribe to the canons made in the late archbiſhop's time, he aſked them, "how they dared to oppoſe the papal power for twenty years together, and to prefer the decrees of Theodore to thoſe of Agatho, Benedict, and Sergius?" As he excepted to Agatho's decrees, becauſe made while they were not on good terms together, it was propoſed to him to ſubmit his caſe to Berctwald's arbitration, and to engage under his hand to conform to his award without the leaſt ſubterfuge or equivocation; but this he refuſed to do, unleſs he knew firſt of all what his award was, or, in the ſecond place, was ſure that it was conſiſtent with that of the apoſtolical ſee. The king and the archbiſhop highly incenſed at his obſtinacy in refuſing to ſubmit to any ſentence, that did not coincide with his demands, and the council, ſeeing there were no hopes of reclaiming him, were inclined to deprive him, at once, of all his abbeys and poſſeſſions, not only in Mercia, but in Northumberland likewiſe.

*Some of them thinking it too ſevere to turn him out of all, without leaving him a place to dwell in, it was propoſed to reſtore him to the monaſtery of Ripon, on condition that he would oblige himſelf, by an inſtrument under his own hand, to live there quietly, never to ſtir out of its precincts without the king's leave, nor exerciſe any part of his epiſcopal office.

When theſe terms were propoſed to Wilfrid for his aſſent, he rejected them with great diſdain, and bragging aloud of his integrity and conduct for forty years paſt, he enlarged upon the ſervices he had done in extirpating the Scotch clergy, in introducing the benedictine rule into monaſteries, in eſtabliſhing the Roman Eaſter, tonſure, the alternate ſinging of reſponſes in choirs, and other rites; concluding with a challenge to thoſe, who preſumed to depoſe him, to appear at the Roman tribunal, and ſee what that conſiſtory would think of his degradation. The king and the archbiſhop, being highly incenſed at the inſolence of his behaviour, could not help telling him, that if he were guilty of no other crime, that of appealing to a foreign tribunal, was ſufficient.

* Carte imagines that St. John of Beverley was one of this number, becauſe he was moſt concerned in the propoſal, as being then in poſſeſſion of Rippon, and was a perſon who had not the leaſt tincture of avarice. *Carte*, b. iii. vol. 1.

ſufficient to render him culpable in the higheſt degree. To this the king added, that if the archbiſhop would warrant the proceeding, he would immediately order part of his army to ſeize on Wilfrid's perſon, and force him to ſubmit to their authority, whether he would or no. This propoſal would, in all probability, have been put in force, had not the biſhops interpoſed, and reminded his majeſty, that they were bound in honour to protect him from any violent meaſures, having promiſed him a ſafe conduct before he would conſent to attend the convocation.

The ſynod being diſſolved, Wilfrid went immediately to king Ethelred, whom he acquainted with every ſtep that had been taken againſt him, and ſo wrought on the affections of that monarch, by his repreſentation of his caſe, that he heartily commiſerated his condition, and gave him ſtrong aſſurances that he would protect and preſerve ſuch of his monaſteries that were in his dominions, without the leaſt alteration, 'till he heard from him.

The conſolation which Wilfrid received from this pious king, was far from being ſufficient to counterballance the diſtreſſes to which both he and his adherents were expoſed in Northumberland. They were treated as excommunicated perſons and outlaws, whoever harboured or entertained

them were avoided by all their acquaintance; no one durſt be preſent at their miniſtration in any branch of public worſhip; nay, the very veſſels they made uſe of, were looked upon as profaned, and purified before any other perſon would make uſe of them. This popular odium was carried to ſo great a height, even in Mercia, where Wilfrid was moſt carreſſed, that Hedda, biſhop of Litchfield, took upon him the adminiſtration of the ſee of Leiceſter, and Wilfrid was forced to quit the country and haſten his departure for Rome.

John VI. was now pope, and not a little influenced by the maxims of that court to juſtify the conduct of his predeceſſors, and to confirm their decrees. When Wilfrid arrived before him, he laid aſide that arrogance with which he had inſulted Aldfrid and the archbiſhop, at Neſterfield; and appeared with an air of the moſt abject ſervility, and moſt deſpicable meanneſs. The petition he preſented ran in the moſt ſuppliant terms with reſpect to his ſubmiſſion to the pope's arbitration, but was at the ſame time filled with virulent complaints againſt the conduct of the king and the archbiſhop. That prelate having ſent over deputies to Rome to vindicate his conduct, the pope appointed a day for hearing both parties. It was in vain to charge Wilfrid with contumacy in refuſing to ſubmit to his metropolitan's

politan's orders, it was in vain to urge his being guilty of inſolence in calling the king's authority in queſtion, it was in vain to allege that he had been guilty of an inſult on the britiſh ſynod; the precedents of former popes were made the rule of the conſiſtory's deciſion, and Wilfrid was acquitted. After ſome ſtay at Rome, which he employed in collecting relicks, he was ſent back with the pope's letters to Ethelred and Aldfrid, notifying his acquitment, and requiring his reſtoration.

Ethelred, who was retired to the monaſtery of Bardney, when he returned, received the letters with the ſervility of a monk, embraced Wilfrid with tears of joy, and recommended his intereſt to the care of Kenred his ſucceſſor.

Aldfrid, who was the wiſeſt and moſt learned prince of his time, was to be managed with greater delicacy, and required the greateſt indications of ſubmiſſion and reſpect. On this account, Wilfrid would not appear in his preſence, before he had obtained leave, and ſent Baldwin and Alfrid, two of the moſt venerable of his clergy. When they made their appearance, the king received them with all the reſpect due to their character, and deſired them to come again at a day appointed, to receive his anſwer to their meſſage. In the mean time, he conſulted with his council, what was

proper

proper for him to do in the preſent affair; and, by their advice, told Wilfrid's deputies, on their return, "That he was ready to do them any ſervice in his power, from the reſpect he had for their perſons and character; but begged they would not give him any further trouble on Wilfrid's account. He added, that he was reſolved to maintain the determinations of his predeceſſors, the archbiſhops, the council, and all the biſhops in Britain, with the utmoſt rigour, and that he was determined never to change his reſolution, for the ſake of any pretended Apoſtolical letter, or reſcript, as long as he lived."

This anſwer convinced Wilfrid that he had nothing to expect from Aldfrid; but when his affairs ſeemed to be moſt deſperate, the * death of this monarch, and the troubles occaſioned by it among the Northumbrians, offered him a favourable opportunity for bringing on an accommodation.

Aldfrid's ſons being minors, the ſucceſſion of the crown was diſputed, and, at laſt, ſeized on by Eadulf. Wilfrid quitting his exile, at this juncture made application to the uſurper, fondly imagining, that he would prove his friend: But the meſſengers found the prelate under a miſtake; the anſwer they received was harſh and peremptory; the monarch ſwearing, that if Wilfrid did

* A. D. 704.

did not quit his dominions, within ſix days, he would put all his friends to death. Not long after this application, Wilfrid's affairs took a new turn, by the depoſing of Eadulf, and the choice of Oſred, the eldeſt ſon of Aldfrid, who was but eight years old, for king of Northumberland.

In the firſt year of this prince's reign Berctwald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, having been brought over, by ſome private reaſons, to eſpouſe Wilfrid's cauſe, ſummoned a council at a place on the eaſtern bank of the river Nidd in Yorkſhire. The young prince, the archbiſhop, Berecfrid the prime miniſter, Wilfrid, and the Northumbrian biſhops being aſſembled, the primate opened the meeting with a motion to have the pope's letters read, which being granted they were attended to by all preſent. But being written in Latin, which Berecfrid the prime miniſter and the reſt of the laity did not underſtand, they were, at his requeſt, explained by Berctwald, who at the ſame time enforced the pope's threats of * excommunication, and degradation, in caſe of their non-compliance with his decrees, and their refuſal of coming to a reconciliation with Wilfrid.

The biſhops, not intimidated by the thunder of the vatican, oppoſed the primate's

* The king or any of the laity were to be excommunicated; and the clergy to be degraded.

mate's motion with great warmth and resolution, declaring, "they did not see how it was possible for them to repeal the decrees that had been made by their predecessors, with the consent of Theodore, who was constituted their primate by the holy see; especially as they had been afterwards confirmed in the synod of Nesterfield, by Berctwald himself, all the bishops of England, and king Aldfrid." To invalidate the stress that might be laid upon Aldfrid's determination in this affair, Elfleda the abbess, who was then present, pretended that, in his last sickness, he had changed his resolution and had made a vow, that if ever he recovered, he would pay unlimitted obedience to all the decrees of the holy see respecting Wilfrid. Berecfrid, who seemed to have been gained over to Wilfrid's party, enforced what the abbess had declared, by persuading them to comply with the king's orders, and Aldfrid's dying intentions; adding, that he himself was under an obligation to do so, by a vow he had made, when he was in distress at Bamburg. The bishops, unwilling to take any measures in an affair of such consequence, which might argue either rashness or perverſity, retired apart, to consult by themselves; Berecfrid and Elfleda going to them by turns, during their seceſs, at last brought them to compromise the affair with

Wil-

* Wilfrid, and to conſent to his being reſtored to his ſee of Hexham, and the monaſtery of Ripon.

After this famous ſtruggle for independancy, the Engliſh churches were gradually recon-

* A. D. 705. Carte's reflections on this conteſt, are worthy of being tranſcribed, and claim the notice of the proteſtant reader. "Such was the iſſue, ſays our author, at the firſt attempt made to ſubject the Engliſh churches to the roman judicature, ſet on foot by a man of the greateſt parts, character, and popularity of any in the age wherein he lived; who employed them all in the moſt artful manner, to propagate the principles he had imbibed, and the prejudices he had contracted in his roman education; but in which he muſt have ſunk finally, had it not been for ſome unforeſeen accidents, and the troubles, which an uncertain and diſputed ſucceſſion had raiſed among the Northumbrians, and which, diſpoſing every body to put an end to all other occaſions of embroiling a nation, opened a way for the compromiſe that ſaved him and his followers from ruin. In the hiſtory thereof, we clearly ſee the ſenſe of the Engliſh churches, with regard to their own independany on any foreign eccleſiaſtical power; the king's aſſerting their prerogative, the biſhops, in every part of the iſland, maintaining their juſt and unappealable authority in the adminiſtration of their dioceſes, and in the exerciſe of diſcipline throughout the nation; and all the ſaints, as well as all learned men of the country, adhering to them in ſupport of their liberties againſt the encroachments of the papal power. This muſt appear not a little extraordinary, conſidering the pains that had been taken, for many years, to inculcate into people the extravagant notions of ſome ſupereminent authority veſted in St. Peter, different from what was common to the reſt of the apoſtles, and to have deſcended thoſe who claimed to be his ſucceſſors.

reconciled to the romiſh cuſtoms; the ceremonies of religion took place of its indiſpenſable duties, kings left their thrones to rot in a monaſtery abroad, or at leaſt to ſleep out their lives in a cloiſter at home.

* The Roman Eaſter and tonſure now began to ſpread among the Picts, and was embraced particularly by Naiton their king. Convinced of the rectitude of his conduct, and willing to bring over his ſubjects to eſpouſe the ſame principles, the pious monarch wrote to Ceolfrid, abbot of the monaſtery of St. Peter and St. Paul at Wyemouth, for inſtructions for that purpoſe. The abbot, who was a perſon of great learning, and as great zeal, returned him a very prolix anſwer, wherein he obliged him with rules for the finding out Eaſter, and furniſhed him with arguments in behalf of the eccleſiaſtical tonſure. A reply of this kind was eſteemed by the monarch as an inexpreſſible favour, and when read to his ſubjects had ſo great an effect, that it wrought an univerſal converſion.

† The obſervation of the romiſh Eaſter and tonſure, got ground a few years after even in the iſland of Hii, by the miniſtration of Egbert, who came to them from Ireland, and reſided with them to the day of his death.

The

* A. D. 710. † A. D. 716.

The weakneſs of the Engliſh in going to Rome on pilgrimage, or in immuring themſelves in cloiſters at home, was now arrived at ſuch a height, that the nation was threatened with inevitable ruin. The ſtate was abandoned by its ableſt protectors, the army was neglected, and nothing ſeemed capable to ſtop the impending calamity of the kingdom. At this time, Ina left his throne for a monaſtery, and was the firſt perſon who introduced the tax of Romeſcot, or Peter-pence, into this iſland.

The gradual decay of true religion, from hence to the time of Ceolulf, might be pointed out with the moſt minute exactneſs, if this part of our hiſtory had not already exceeded its due bounds, and run the danger of raiſing the diſguſt, of ſuch, who think that eccleſiaſtic affairs are either beneath their notice, or by no means within their cognizance.

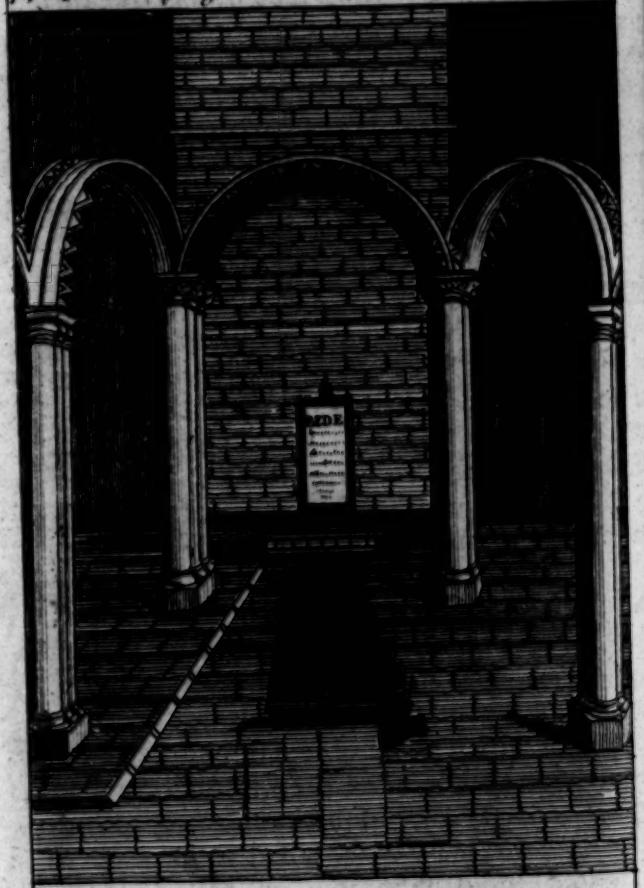
In general we may aſſert, that the due obſervation of Eaſter, and other ceremonious rites of the church, engroſſed the minds of the people entirely. The principles of natural religion, morality, and the more neceſſary precepts of chriſtianity, were either forgot, or neglected. The ſacraments were ſeldom adminiſtered; ſome places were, for want of inſtructors, and churches to aſſemble in daily running back to their former ignorance and idolatry. The inferior cler-

gy were ſo depraved, that they ſtood in need of a reform; and the monaſteries themſelves, which were inſtituted as ſeminaries of learning and auſterity, loſt ſight of their inſtitution ſo far, that they ſeemed to be places dedicated to luxury, and appropriated to ſloth. The great men made uſe of the weakneſs of ſuperſtitious monarchs to obtain grants for theſe houſes, and, retiring themſelves within their walls, were exempt from all taxes and duties, by which the public revenues were in time ſo much diminiſhed, that the monarch was not able to reward a faithful ſervant, or to encourage a brave commander. At this period of general, and indolent ſuperſtition, Bede thought it his duty to ſpread the alarm, and in an epiſtle to Egbert, biſhop of Canterbury, not only deſcribes the decline of religion, the depravity of the monks, and the abuſe of royal ſuperſtition; but likewiſe points out, the moſt effectual ways to remedy and to correct them.

The meaſures he preſcribes to revive religion among the laity are ſuch, as at once convey to us an idea of his good ſenſe, and the low eſtate to which piety was at that time reduced. He thought it neceſſary, that the common people ſhould be taught the creed and Lord's prayer in their native language, and that even the inhabitants of monaſteries ſhould be obliged to conform to the

BRITISH MUSEUM

The remains of the Shrine of Venable BEDE in the Chapel of ye Virgin Mary at ye West End of Durham Cathedral.



Engraved for Riders History of England

the ſame preſcription. Egbert, who was a perſon of great piety and learning, no doubt, put this pious advice in practice, and endeavoured to reſtore practical piety, which began now to be buried in external ceremonies, and to looſe both its proper eſteem, and vigour. Such were Bede's perſuaſions, who in a ſhort * time after, changed this life for a better.

* A. D. 732. It would be an unpardonable omiſſion to paſs over the life of this truly venerable perſon without introducing him to the acquaintance of the reader. At the age of ſeven years, this venerable perſon was brought to the monaſtery of St. Peter, built at the mouth of the river Wyre, where he was committed to the care of Benedict the abbot. Under this celebrated divine, and his ſucceſſor, Bede continued for twelve years, or more, and, in his mature age, abundantly repaid the care they had taken in his education, by writing their lives and immortalizing their names. At the age of nineteen, he was ordained deacon, after which he proſecuted his ſtudies with incredible ardour and ſucceſs. The whole circle of the ſciences was the object of his thoughts, and the acquiſition of one branch of knowledge was made uſe of only as a ſtep and an incentive to greater improvements. His knowledge of latin and greek may eaſily be collected from the numerous works, he left behind him, works that are a treaſure of profound ſenſe, and a kind of reſervoir for all the hiſtorians that undertake the hiſtory of our church, or ſtate. His time was alternately divided between his books and his prayers, and the frequency with which he applied himſelf to each would embarraſs the mind to determine, which he proſecuted moſt, or which he neglected leaſt. Bouſſard, from conſidering this circumſtance, could

Nothing very remarkable occurs for some years in the ecclesiastic history of this island; the

could not help saying, "that if we reflected on the frequency of his devotions, we should be apt to think, that he never applied himself to his studies; though, on the other hand, if we consider the variety of his compositions, one would be induced from thence to imagine that he had no time for devotion." The masters under which he studied were men of such note, that we need not wonder at his improvements; their very names reflect honour on Bede, at the same time as his works reflect no less honour on their names. Trumbert, the disciple of St. Chad, directed his studies in divinity. John, the precentor of St. Peter's, was his master in music; and it is not at all improbable, that he was indebted to Hadrian, Benedict, and the disciples of Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, for his skill in the sciences. Ceolfrid his abbot, who was charmed with his parts, and astonished at his learning, would not be satisfied till he was ordained priest, in the thirteeth year of his age. The ardour which the abbot expressed on this account seemed to be the result of judgment and founded on a persuasion of Bede's merit. Nor was he deceived. The same thirst after knowledge, which characterized Bede's life while a deacon, rendered him no less conspicuous when a priest. Tho' his learning was great, his modesty was greater: he was always more fond of the character of an humble, than that of a learned man: and seems to take a pleasure in acknowledging his mistakes, and in correcting his errours. He had such a veneration for the fathers, that most of his works seem rather to be a revival of their sentiments, than an exposition of his own: And so cautious was he of depriving them of any degree of reputation, that if any of his sentiments bare the most distant resemblance to any of theirs, he would generously translate all the praise to them, which had been given to him by admiring readers.

Yet

the ſucceſſion of Biſhops, who have left nothing but their names behind them, is unworthy

Yet tho' Bede's modeſty was ſuch, it was always corrected by judgment, his veneration for no name was ſo great, as to ſuffer him knowingly to adopt an errour, to encourage a fault, or propagate a miſtake. The noble freedom with which he wrote to archbiſhop Egbert, concerning the depravation of the times, the imperfection of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, the ſcandalous lives of the monks, and the frauds uſed to obtain grants for religious houſes, abundantly ſupports this aſſertion. A man of ſuch talents as theſe, though immured in a cloiſter, could not live unknown to the world. The reputation of Bede burſt through this narrow incloſure, and extended itſelf even as far as Rome. Sergius, the reigning pope, convinced of his abilities, ſent for him to aſſiſt him in ſome important points, but his modeſty, his humility, his love of retirement, his love of his country were ſo great, that the pope's applications were in vain. We ſeem, hitherto, to have given our teſtimony purely to the intellectual abilities of this illuſtrious perſon; it is time we ſhould now endeavour to give ſome ſketch of his life. After he had entered into holy orders, his conduct anſwered in every particular with that ſanctity which was ſuitable to his character. Thoſe whom he was ſet over had indeed an advantage, which few other monaſteries could at that time boaſt of, his example not only illuſtrated his precepts, but by ſhewing them to be practicable, rendered them likewiſe amiable. He loſt no opportunity of communicating thoſe ſtores of knowledge he had collected by indefatigable labour, but ſeemed in all his inſtructions to aim at rendering his diſciples good, rather than learned. The readineſs he ſhowed in communicating his diſcoveries ſecured him the acquaintance of all the learned men in the kingdom; who ſeemed to rival each other in rendering themſelves of ſervice to him in the literary productions he was

en-

worthy of a place in this work, which claims the title of a history, not of a muster roll. Yet it will not be thought unreasonable to mention one particular relating to Egbert, bishop of York, who succeeded Wilfrid junior, in that see, and was brother

engaged in. It was owing to this amiable emulation, that his ecclesiastical history has still maintained its fame, and is still looked on as a noble portrait of the character of his times, and of the state of the kingdom and Religion, for ages long before his existence. As he lived admired, so he died respected, and, in his last moments, gave such signs of humble penitence, warm zeal, and christian resignation, as must render his name dear to every one, who look on the piety of this predecessor, as worthy of their regard. In the last agonies, the following Saxon hymn was the subject of his meditations. "Fortham Neodfere nenig wyr theth, thances snattra "thonne him thearf sy to gehiggene ær his ðonen gange, "hwet his gaste godes oththe yueles æfter deathe, heo-"nen demed wurthe." Which may be translated thus, "No one ever yet was wiser than he should be before his death: nor could his soul be sure of its sentence, or its proper state with respect to good or evil, before its separation by death." After his death, he was buried in the monastery of Yarrow, whence his remains were afterwards fraudulently removed to the cathedral of Durham, and there interred with those of St. Cuthbert. Some time afterwards they were taken from this repository by Hugo, bishop of this place, A. D. 1654, and being inclosed in a rich chest, Speed informs us in his *Theatr. Brit.* that his marble monument then remained in the West end of St. Mary's church at Durham, with a Latin inscription affixed to the wall, wherein a particular description is given of this great man's life, representing him as superior to all praise.

ther to king Edbert. By his own induſtry, and his brother's aſſiſtance, he reſtored his ſee to its former dignity and repute. Though he was convinced, that a deſire of what belonged to another argues a great weakneſs of mind, yet he thought that negligence, or indifference, with reſpect to what is due, argues indolence and ſloth. From theſe principles he was incited to recover the pall to his ſee, which it had been deprived of ever ſince Paulinus's retreat to Rocheſter. The library he likewiſe collected in this place, was ſo famous, that Alcuin celebrates it as a kind of a prodigy.

‡ About three years after this tranſaction the lives of the Engliſh were ſo immoral, that pope Zachary thought it neceſſary to interpoſe his authority, and to threaten them with excommunication, unleſs they reformed. * In order to anſwer the good intenſions of his holineſs, a national ſynod was called at † Cloveſhoe, wherein Ethelbald king of Mercia, twelve biſhops, and a great number of the nobility were preſent. Cuthbert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was preſident, opened the council by reading the pope's

‡ A. D. 744. * A. D. 747.

† Some imagine this to have been Cliff at Hoo, a town in Rocheſter, but others ſuppoſe, from the preſence of the king of Mercia, that it was Abington in Berks, which uſed to be written Shoveſham, inſtead of Cloveſham.

pope's letter, in anſwer to which they drew up eight and twenty canons, relating to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, the government of monaſteries, the duties of biſhops and other clergymen, the public ſervice, ſinging pſalms, and keeping the ſabbath and other holidays. The moſt remarkable of theſe canons were the following three: The *tenth*, which orders prieſts to be thoroughly acquainted with the principles of chriſtianity, and to teach the people the apoſtles creed and the Lord's prayer in Engliſh. The *twenty-ſixth* provides againſt a vain preſumption, that alms-giving could commute for a wickedneſs, or diſpenſe with the diſcipline of the church: and * the *twenty-ſeventh* canon is very curious, and was introduced on the following occaſion. A rich layman, who had been excommunicated, requeſted he might be re-admitted into the church, on account of his having procured ſeveral perſons to faſt in his ſtead; alleging, that the penance they had undergone in his name was more than he could have performed himſelf in three hundred years. Inſtead of complying with

* This canon, includes a form of prayer for the dead, which being one of the firſt that occurs in our hiſtory, is worthy of the readers notice. It runs thus, "O LORD we beſeech thee, grant that the ſoul of ——— may be ſecured in a ſtate of repoſe, and admitted, with the reſt of thy ſaints, into the regions of light and bliſs."

with this *extraordinary* requeſt, this canon declares, with ſome warmth, that it was highly preſumptuous, and contradictory to the expreſs words of the goſpel, which declares, that "a rich man ſhall, with difficulty, enter into the kingdom of heaven."

The ſee of Canterbury was, at the death of Cuthbert, filled with Bridwin, a perſon of exemplary piety and diſcretion, who did not ſurvive his promotion above three years. His corpſe was demanded by * Lambert, at the head of a body of ſoldiers, that it might be interred in the monaſtery of St. Auguſtin, according to the privilege of that order: but finding, after his demand, that it was buried in Chriſt's-church, he appealed for ſatisfaction to the pope. The monks of Chriſt's-church, alarmed at his appeal, had recourſe to an effectual expedient to diſarm him of his anger, which was that of electing him archbiſhop, which the pope, Paul V. confirmed by ſending him the pall. He had not long enjoyed this dignity before he incenſed Offa, king of the Mercians, who, envying Kent the honour of the primacy, was reſolved to eſtabliſh one in his own dominions. † With this view, Lichfield was erected into an archiepiſcopal ſee, to which all the biſhops of Mercia and the Eaſt-angles were

* Some copies read this name *Jdimbert*.

† A. D. 784.

were to be ſuffragans, and Lambert was obliged, though with great reluctance, to reſign not only all claim of authority over theſe ſees, but alſo all the lands in Mercia belonging to his own; which the king either retained for his own uſe, or aſſigned over to the new primate for the ſupport of his dignity. The foundation of a primacy without a pall ſeeming a defective inſtitution; the king had recourſe to pope Hadrian for that purpoſe; Lambert oppoſed him with all his intereſt in this particular, and delayed the grant of it ſo long, that Highbert, the firſt archbiſhop, died before it could be obtained. Aldulp, who ſucceeded him in his ſee, was cautious of doing any thing which might give the archbiſhop of Canterbury any claim of ſuperiority; and, on that account, was conſecrated by Eanbald, archbiſhop of York, aſſiſted by Tilbert, and Hygbald, biſhops of Hexham and Landisfarne.

About this time, the pope ſent Gregory, biſhop of Oſtia, and another prelate named Theophylact, in quality of legates to England. They came indeed on pretence of reforming the diſcipline of the Engliſh church, and executing the partition of the metropolitan power of Canterbury. A ſynod was accordingly held in Northumberland, which gave aſſent to all the articles that had been already prepared by the legates.

gates. They were, in effect, little more than a confirmation of canons, which had formerly received the ſanction of the church; excepting, however, a few articles, which were to the following effect:

I. That all perſons in holy orders ſhould ſtrictly adhere to the council of Nice.

II. That baptiſm ſhould be adminiſtered only at Eaſter, and at Whitſuntide, unleſs in caſes of neceſſity. That it was the duty of Godfathers to teach ſuch children as they ſtood for, the creed and Lord's prayer: and that all chriſtians ſhould be obliged to learn each of them by heart.

IX. The clergy were not to eat in private, unleſs ſick.

X. The clergy ſhall not perform divine ſervice *without ſtockings*, and ſhall be obliged to make uſe of pattins and chalices of horn.

XI. Kings are to govern their people according to the advice of the biſhops, who have the power of *binding* or *looſing* delivered to them.

XII. No illegitimate perſon ſhall be choſen ſovereign.

XIII. Marriages ſhall not ſtand that are made within the degrees forbidden.

XVII. Baſtards, eſpecially thoſe of nuns, are incapable of inheriting.

XVIII. Tithes are to be paid to the clergy. Moſes being quoted as authorizing them by his practice.

XXIII.

XXIII. All religious vows ſhall be inviolably kept.

The decrees of this ſynod were afterwards ratified by another council convened at Calcluith, which was more full than the precedent, and Adulph received the pall from Rome, without Lambert's daring to murmur, for fear of being impeached of treaſonable practices. One reaſon for the pope's compliance is ſuppoſed to have been, the remittance Offa ſent him by the legates, which, together with the Peter-pence, operated very ſtrongly upon his holineſs. Notwithſtanding this partition of the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, it * afterwards recovered the dioceſes which had been diſmembered from it, and the biſhop of Litchfield again became its ſuffragan.

Offa, having exerted himſelf ſo much in favour of the church, was, notwithſtanding his cruelties, conſidered as a very religious prince in other countries, and received from Charlemagne the decrees of the ſecond council of Nice, recommending image-worſhip. The famous Alcuin, who was an Engliſhman and tutor to Charlemagne, had writ with great energy and learning againſt this council, and his performance had ſo remarkable an effect upon the Germans, that image-worſhip was ſolemnly condemned in a ſynod at Franckfort.

Lambart

* A. D. 800.

Lambart was ſucceeded in the archbiſhopric of Canterbury by Athelard, who had been biſhop of Wincheſter. He was a man of great abilities and intereſt among the nobility, and had almoſt prevailed upon Egfer, ſon and ſucceſſor of Offa, to reſtore the ſee of Canterbury to its former ſplendour and prerogatives, when that prince was taken off by an untimely death. However, he carried his point in the ſucceeding reign of Kenulf, who being deſirous to deliver himſelf from the power of a metropolitan, liſtened to the remonſtrances of Athelard, and even recommended his cauſe to the pope in a ſubmiſſive letter, which the archbiſhop delivered with his own hand. His requeſt was granted, and he obtained a reſtitution of all that had been diſmembered from his ſee. Yet Adulph was, at the interceſſion of Alcuin, allowed to preſerve the pall, though deprived of the power of conſecrating biſhops.

Athelard, having recovered the prerogatives of his ſee, convoked a council at Cloveſhoe, in which this tranſaction was confirmed in the preſence of Kenulf: and afterwards another ſynod was held at the ſame place, in which the ſevereſt eccleſiaſtical cenſures were denounced againſt any prince who ſhould make ſuch innovations for the future; and any archbiſhop who ſhould conſent to them. At the ſame time it was decreed, that no layman ſhould take upon

him the government of a monaſtery, and that no ſociety of monks ſhould chooſe a layman for their chief.

The ſucceeding year was diſtinguiſhed by the death of Alcuin, who was a prieſt no leſs exemplary in his life, than eminent for his learning. The Scots and Northumbrians claimed the honour of having produced this great man. He was ſent by Offa as ambaſſador to Charlemagne, and being retained about the perſon of that emperor, he ſoftened his diſpoſition into an affection for the arts of peace. It was by Alcuin's perſuaſions that he bridled his ambition, and encouraged the liberal arts. By Alcuin's advice he founded the univerſities of Paris and Pavia, to which he invited ſcholars of all nations, but particularly thoſe of England.

* The next ſynod was aſſembled at Calcluith, where Athelward's ſucceſſor preſided. The decrees which were paſſed at this place diſpenſed with the relics of martyrs at the conſecration of churches; prohibited all the Scots from baptizing or reading divine ſervice in England, confirmed all grants and decrees ſigned with the mark of the croſs by princes and others who could not write, and obliged the biſhops to regiſter the tranſactions of their dioceſes.

‡ The

* A. D. 816.

‡ The ſame archbiſhop held another ſynod at Cloveſhoe, in preſence of Beornulf, king of the Mercians; wherein all the nobility of the kingdom aſſembled, to determine a difference between the abbeſs Quendrida, daughter of Kenulf king of Mercia, and the archbiſhop, by which the whole nation had been deprived of the ſacrament of baptiſm for ſix years. Kenulf had quarrelled with Wulfrid about the manor of Leoneſham, which the prelate at length conſented to yield to the king, on condition of his uſing his intereſt with the pope to get him reſtored to his metropolitan rights, of which he had deprived him. But Kenulf dying before he could perform his part of the agreement, his daughter the abbeſs occupied the lands that were now claimed by the archbiſhop. The effect of this ſynod principally turned out in a bare compromiſe of the difference, and the archbiſhop was obliged to go to Rome to get the pope's interdict removed.

* Afterwards another ſynod was held in the ſame place, to determine ſome diſputes which had ariſen between Herbert biſhop of Worceſter, and the monks of Berkley. The cauſe was in this caſe determined by oath, and the lands in queſtion were adjudged to

‡ A. D. 821. Some authors think this to be a forgery.
* A. D. 824.

the biſhop, both the temporal and ſpiritual powers agreeing to the charter of confirmation.

* Egbert, having united the heptarchy, was ſo engroſſed by continual wars, that he had very little time to turn his thoughts to eccleſiaſtical affairs; and indeed theſe troubles detached the people ſo much from the practice and ſtudy of religious duties, that the whole nation was overſpread with ignorance, and a total relaxation of morals enſued. The deſtruction of monaſteries and churches, the loſs of thoſe grants and treaſures which were requiſite for their ſubſiſtence; the neceſſity of defending themſelves againſt the Danes, were the great cauſes which introduced this depravity. It need not be wondered therefore that this period of church hiſtory is ſo barren of events, eſpecially if we conſider, that the monaſteries which were deſtroyed by the Danes, were the repoſitories of eccleſiaſtic memoirs, which, being buried in their ruins, the hiſtorians who write of theſe times muſt be very much in the dark. Few remarkable events can, with reaſon be expected, few councils can be produced in order to give us an idea of the doctrines and faith, or of the hereſies and miſtakes that were then introduced into the church; and few learned writers can be conſulted in order to reflect light upon a period

* A. D. 823.

period of ſo much diſorder and ſo much danger. Yet as a confirmation of the martial turn to which all orders of men were obnoxious, to the neglect of religion, we find even the mitred dignitary, at the head of forces, uſing the arm of fleſh, inſtead of the ſword of faith. It was thus that biſhop Ealhſtan was joined in commiſſion with Wulfheard, to march with an army to reduce Kent. A. D. 823.

During Egbert's reign, however, Withlaf, the tributary king of Mercia, granted the abbey of Croyland a famous charter, which was confirmed by the ſtates of the kingdom. Among other privileges and exemptions contained in this inſtrument, it ordained, that the monaſtery of Croyland ſhould be held as a ſanctuary, which no officer of juſtice ſhould preſume to violate, on pain of loſing his right foot; and that the abbots and monks ſhould be entertained through all parts of Mercia, with all the honours and diſtinction due to a prince of the blood. This deed was confirmed by Egbert, and ſeems to have been the only eccleſiaſtical tranſaction of his reign, worthy of our notice. His ſucceſſor Ethelwulf, was entirely governed by the clergy, left the adminiſtration to Swithin, biſhop of Wincheſter, extended his complaiſance to the church farther than it had been ever carried by any of his predeceſſors: and, as we have

hinted in the history of his reign, bestowed upon it the tythes of all England, in * an authentic charter confirmed in a general assembly of all the states of Mercia, the East-angles, and of the West-Saxons, † at Winchester, signed by Burhed and Edmund, kings of Mercia and East Anglia, and offered in a solemn manner upon the great altar in St. Peter's church.

This charter, or act of parliament, obliged all persons possessed of any landed estate to give at least a tenth part of it, together with the same proportion of their goods to the clergy, as well secular as regular. That the clergy might not be interrupted in the duties of their functions, and in their prayers for the public welfare, this charter exempts their possessions from all fines, royal aids, and taxes whatever. Military expeditions, charges for making and repairing bridges, guarding and fortifying castles are particularly excepted, because, 'till this time,

* Prior to this charter, he made another at his palace in the same city, which contains a grant of the tenth part of the lands of his kingdom, free from all secular services, to the church for ever. This being passed only at an ordinary court, or council held at one of the great festivals, when he was attended only by the nobility of the country immediately subject to him, seems confined to the realm of the West-Saxons, as the date shows it to have been made before his journey to Rome.

† Nov. 3, A. D. 855.

time, they had always been included either in expreſs terms, or by common intendment in all the grants of privileges and immunities made to churches. That this exemption of the clergy and their poſſeſſions is provided for by this grant, is the general opinion of all our hiſtorians. Biſhops, as we have obſerved, uſed before to ſerve frequently in their own perſons, and to contribute always to the charges of wars, but were now diſcharged from theſe and all other ſecular burthens.

* The reigns of Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred I. are very barren of all eccleſiaſtical matter, excepting the deſtruction of monaſteries by the Danes, which the hiſtorians of thoſe days have deſcribed in very pathetic terms: lamenting particularly the three famous convents of Croyland, Ely, and Medeſhamſtede, not to mention thoſe of Bardney, and Peterborough, in which the monks were maſſacred and their libraries burned. We have already obſerved, that the cruelty of the Danes was ſo great againſt every perſon employed in propagating the chriſtian religion, that the few monks who eſcaped their barbarity, either quitted the kingdom, or had recourſe to other employments for a livelihood, when they found themſelves deprived of the revenues upon which

* A. D. 866 — 870.

which they formerly subsisted; so that Alfred the Great, when he triumphed over these invaders, could find no † monks in England; to repair these defects, and revive the taste for letters, he was obliged to replenish the monasteries he built with ecclesiastics invited from foreign countries. Previous to this step he had sent for such men of learning as his kingdom could still afford, to take upon them the education of the young noblemen about his court: who were in those days generally taught in the king's palace. These luminaries employed their time in translating such books of morality and devotion as might tend to revive the practice of virtue, and a regard to religion among the common people; they composed lessons of morality and religion in verse, as the best helps to assist the memory, and the most proper means of rendering their precepts agreeable. In this point they had not only the example of archbishop Aldhelm, but

† This revolution in the republic of letters is more surprizing, as not long before it had flourished so much, that Alcuin advised the emperor Charles the Great, to send over some of the French youth to York, as the first place in the world for their improvement and education. Alfred's description of the low ebb to which learning was now reduced is very minute and very pathetic: In the preface to his translation of Gregory's morals he informs us, "that there were few on this side the Humber, able either to translate a piece of Latin, or to understand the liturgy in the English language."

but likewiſe that of the king himſelf, who had tranſlated Gregory's morals, and compoſed a collection of parables, which, the abbot of Rieval ſays, was extant in his time, and was no leſs entertaining than edifying. It is not at all improbable that he likewiſe wrote a book of proverbs in rhyme, from a poem in the Cottonian library, which ſeems to have been compoſed in imitation of it. The perſons employed in this arduous taſk, were Plegmund, Wulffig, Werefrid, Dunwulf, and Aſſerius of St. David's, who all were the chief dignitaries of the church; to theſe were added, Athelſtan, Werwulf, and the famous St. Neot. But theſe being thought inſufficient to ſpread the light of knowledge all over the nation, Alfred was obliged to have recourſe to the expedient of ſending for foreigners to aſſiſt them in this arduous undertaking, as we have mentioned above. This great prince, who contributed ſo much to the reſtoration of literature, and religion, endeavoured to render his cares of the greater benefit by ſuch laws as ſecured their permanency; with this view we find him forming a body of eccleſiaſtical canons; which ſhow at once his prudence, and his piety. The firſt part of theſe is little more than a tranſcript of the Decalogue; yet it is remarkable that, the ſecond commandment is omitted, becauſe repugnant to image-worſhip, which by this time had been introduced

introduced into England. They are followed by an abridgment of the moſaic inſtitutions, as recorded in the book of Exodus; and a ſummary of the Goſpel diſpenſation: after which we find a ſhort introduction to his code of civil laws, collected from thoſe of Ina, Offa, and Ethelbert, the firſt of all the Saxon kings who were converted to chriſtianity.

Among thoſe learned foreigners who aſſiſted Alfred in his great work of reſtoring the luſtre of the church, and reviving the arts and ſciences, the principal were Johannes Scotus Erigena, and Grimbald. The former an Iriſh ſcot, had ſtudied at Athens, and in other foreign countries, and made himſelf maſter of the Greek and Oriental tongues. After which he removed to France, where he acquired no ſmall degree of reputation, and was very intimate with Charles the Bald. The fame of his talents extending to England, he was invited hither by Alfred, whom he inſtructed in the liberal arts, and whoſe friendſhip he enjoyed notwithſtanding he had written againſt the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the Euchariſt, which rendered him obnoxious to the ſee of Rome. Towards the latter part of his life, this great man opened a ſchool in the monaſtery of Malmeſbury, where his ſcholars murdered him with their pen-knives, for reaſons which are at preſent buried in oblivion.

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Another foreigner, for whom Alfred conceived a very early affection, was one Grimbald, who entertained him ſo hoſpitably in his journey to Rome, that he afterwards created him abbot of Wincheſter. This eminent divine was a polite ſcholar, being no leſs famous for his learning than his ſkill in muſic, and his talents in oratory. The firſt abbot of the new abbey, founded in the iſle of Athelney, was a native of old Saxony, and almoſt all the monks, prieſts, and deacons, were foreigners. Not but that our own country, as we have already obſerved, produced a number of men, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their piety and learning. Among theſe, Aſſer Menevenſis, a monk of St. David's, was ſo ſtrongly attached to his retirement, that all the careſſes and favours of Alfred could not induce him to forſake it entirely, though he conſented to live one half year with the king, who promoted him to the biſhopric of Sherburn, and beſtowed upon him many other marks of his particular regard: We muſt not confound him with his name-ſake and uncle Aſſerius, archbiſhop of St. David's, who wrote part of Alfred's life. John, the monk, belonged to the ſame monaſtery, the king owed his knowledge of the latin tongue to his inſtruction. Wereſrid, biſhop of Worceſter, had been driven by the Danes into baniſhment, from whence he was recalled by Alfred, who em-

employed him to tranſlate Gregory's dialogues. Plegmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was a man of great abilities; and Dunwulf, biſhop of Wincheſter, is ſaid by ſome authors to have been the very cowherd, whom Aldfrid ſerved in diſguiſe: but that prince diſcovering in him a genius far above his ſtation in life, he exalted him in proportion to his merit.

Of all the eccleſiaſtics who dignified the court of Alfrid, Neotus, or St. Neot, was the moſt remarkable for his learning, his piety, and his example. Deſcended from the blood royal of the Eaſt-Angles, he was reſpected as a prince as well as a prelate; and is ſaid by his perſonal authority and admonitions, to have reſtrained the intemperate ſallies of Alfred's youth. He was buried at St. Gueren's Church, at Gainſbury in Cornwall; and ſuch, by that time, was the general opinion of his ſanctity, that he ſupplanted the Corniſh ſaint, and gave his own name to the church, which was from that time called Neotſtow. The palace of earl Alric, in Huntingdonſhire, being afterwards converted into a monaſtery, was dedicated to this ſaint, whoſe body was tranſlated thither. It remained in this place till the reign of king John, when the bones were removed from this St. Neot's to the abbey of Croyland. This eccleſiaſtic, and the greateſt part of thoſe above mentioned,

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taught together in the univerſity of Oxford, which was regulated and || endowed by Alfred, who frequently aſſiſted in perſon at their exerciſes, until ſome diſputes aroſe between the natives and foreign profeſſors, and then Grimbald retired to the monaſtery at Wincheſter, which the king had lately founded.

|| He founded three halls or colleges, in each of which the ſciences of grammar, philoſophy, and divinity, were ſeparately taught. He endowed each of theſe halls with a maintenance for twenty ſix ſcholars, and gave them rules for the conduct of their ſtudents, and the regulation of their hours of prayer and ſtudy. From the incorporation of theſe *three* halls into one college the place obtained the name of an *univerſity*, a term never before made uſe of to expreſs ſuch a body corporate; and as nothing of this kind had been inſtituted in Europe before, Alfred might juſtly be termed the founder of that body-corporate which is ſtiled an *univerſity*, on account of his providing for the perpetuity of this ſeminary. As it conſiſted, for ſome time, only of one college, like that of Dublin, thence named univerſity-college, of which the crown, on account of his being judicially proved to be the founder, has been judicially determined the viſitor; it is no wonder that Alfred ſhould on that account be termed the founder of the univerſity of Oxford. With reſpect to the diſpute between the ſiſter-univerſities, for priority of inſtitution, we think it unworthy any further notice, and that the proofs of both parties are rather conjectures than arguments. Carte, not without reaſon, imagines, that the new method of inſtruction which theſe learned foreigners introduced, was the cauſe of this animoſity.

§ Alfred's ſucceſſor Edward imitated the virtues of his father, in founding the univerſity of Cambridge, as well as in a great number of benefactions to the church ‡: yet his reign is remarkable for a very particular exertion of the authority of the Roman ſee. Pope Formoſus, if we credit the popiſh hiſtorians, being informed that the biſhopric of Weſſex had been ſeven years vacant, ſent over a bull, excommunicating the king and all his ſubjects, which being publickly read, at a general aſſembly of the ſtates, by Plegmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in order to avert the pope's anger, the vacant ſees were immediately filled, and three new biſhopricks erected in Weſſex. After which Plegmund ſet out for Rome

§ A. D. 901.

‡ The authenticity of this tranſaction is juſtly ſuſpected: Malmeſbury dates the pope's bull in 904; but pope Formoſus died in 896, and was dragged out of his grave by Stephen, his ſucceſſor, in 897. Baronius endeavours to ſolve this difficulty, by ſaying, that the date in Malmeſbury is falſe, and ſhould be written 894 inſtead of 904; but this it could not be made in Edward's reign, as he did not aſcend the throne till the year 900; and as Alfred was never excommunicated by the pope, it could not have happened in his reign neither: to ſuppoſe two excommunications, is an evaſion which is ſupported by no authority, and the bull, though produced by papal writers, as a foundation of the early exertion of the authority of the pope in this kingdom, is inconſiſtent with chronology, and a manifeſt forgery.

Rome, where the ſentence was revoked; and at his return to England, conſecrated ſeven prelates in one day. Plegmund was ſucceeded in the ſee of Canterbury by Athelm, biſhop of Wells, who crowned Athelſtan at Kingſton upon Thames; and during the reign of this prince was held the ſynod of Greatley. This ſynod was convened, A. D. 928. The canons which it enjoined were nine in number.

The Firſt enjoins not only the payment of tythes, but likewiſe contains the king's orders to all his governors and officers to maintain a poor man in diet and cloaths; towards which every two towns were to be aſſeſſed nine gallons of meal, a gammon of bacon, or a ram worth *four pence*. They were likewiſe each of them to free a perſon from ſlavery.

The Second commands the magiſtrates to put the laws in execution againſt ſuch as were convicted by all the circumſtances of a trial by ordeal.

The Third is againſt witchcraft and highwaymen.

The Fourth regulates the number of mints, of which we have already ſpoken at the end of this king's reign.

The Fifth preſcribes the circumſtances and ceremonies of the ordeal trial, by which a perſon may be known to be guilty or no. In this canon the prieſts are ſpoken of as having

fixed and ſettled places; and the accuſed perſon is permitted to receive the *conſecrated bread*: hence Rapin concludes, that as the euchariſt was called *bread*, even after conſecration, the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation was not yet introduced into the church of England.

The Eighth orders the biſhops to aſſiſt the judges in the execution of the laws, and to ſit on the bench with them.

And the Ninth lays a fine upon ſuch magiſtrates as ſhould be found remiſs in their duty, which was to be paid to the biſhop of the dioceſe in which ſuch magiſtrate dwelt.

After § the death of Athelſtan, Odo, biſhop of Sherburn, was promoted to the ſee of Canterbury. He was a Dane by extraction, tho' born in Eaſt-Anglia, and was diſinherited by his parents on account of his attachment to chriſtianity. His ſufferings recommended him to the protection of a nobleman called Adhelm, who perſuaded him to take orders, and by his intereſt raiſed him to the ſee of Sherburn. Edmund, the ſucceſſor of Athelſtan, importuned him to accept of the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, which, however, he for ſome time declined, from a perſuaſion that his abilities were not equal to the poſt: afterwards he refuſed it from a ſcruple of conſcience, believing that tranſlations were not warranted by the canons. When this objection was removed,

§ A. D. 929.

moved, by producing the example of Miletus and Juſtus, he was ſeized with a more ridiculous qualm, ſuppoſing no perſon but a * monk could be qualified for an archbiſhopric; ſo that the king was obliged to ſend commiſſaries to France, to prevail upon the abbot of Fleury to admit him into his ſociety. After this elevation, this bigotted prieſt publiſhed a body of canons, in the firſt of which he denounces excommunication againſt all violators of the church's property and exemptions.

In the Second he declares, that it is the duty of kings, princes, and other perſons in authority, to obey, with great humility, the archbiſhops and biſhops, who keep the keys of heaven, and poſſeſs the power of binding and looſing.

In the Third, the biſhops are admoniſhed to diſcharge their duty of viſiting and preaching about their dioceſe once every year, without mercenary views, or reſpect of perſons.

The Fourth and Fifth contain rules for the obſervation of the clergy.

The Sixth contains regulations to be obſerved by the monks.

The Seventh prohibits unlawful marriages within the degres of affinity.

* This objection was founded on a miſtake, there being very probably ſeveral who were not monks, among which were Wegherd, whom Bede ſtiles a prieſt, and Northelm, who ſucceeded Tatwine.

The Eighth recommends unity and charity.

The Ninth enjoins fasting on Wednesday, Friday, and the four ember-weeks. And

The Tenth prescribes the payment of tythes, from proofs drawn from the Mosaic institution, without any mention of Ethelwulph's charter.

§ In the reign of Edmund, a great synod was convoked at London, in which bishops were enjoined to repair their churches, and the king required to establish funds for their support. In the course of the following year, another assembly passed several laws for the advancement of the christian religion, and the maintenance of concord among the people. Churches and royal palaces were, by this synod, made places of sanctuary; and it was ordained, that no mulct for breaking the peace, or satisfaction for murder, should be forgiven.

The charter of privileges was given to Glastonbury-abbey, in this king's reign, who had it engrossed in letters of gold in a book of the four evangelists, which the king made a present of to this abbey. These privileges were so extensive, that the king seemed to invest the abbot with a kind of sovereign power, within the precincts of his jurisdiction.

About this period the famous Dunstan began to signalise himself in church and state. He

§ A. D. 941.

He was born in Somerſetſhire, deſcended of a noble family, from whom he inherited a large eſtate, and was educated at Glaſtonbury, under a learned Iriſh monk.

In his youth he travelled abroad, and made great improvement in his ſtudies, but at the ſame time contracted a great fondneſs for the monaſtic life, which rendered him remarkable. On his return, he was, by Aldhelm archbiſhop of Canterbury, introduced to king Athelſtan, who took him under his protection, but was ſoon diſcarded for ſome offence.

On this diſgrace, Dunſtan retired in diſguſt from the world, and conceived that affection for the monks, which he ſo cordially expreſſed in the whole courſe of his future grandeur. Edmund, at his acceſſion to the throne, invited him from his retreat, and made him his confeſſor; but he was for ſome miſdemeanor diſmiſſed from this office, which, however, he regained by the intereſt of Turketyl, and acquired amazing influence under this monarch and his brother Edred. The monaſtic life was at the ſame time dignified by an illuſtrious member in the perſon of Turketyl, an excellent ſoldier and conſummate politician, who quitted the office of chancellor, to embrace the life of a recluſe at Croyland, of which he was made abbot, after having received the habit, together with the paſtoral ſtaff and epiſcopal benediction;

diction. He was no ſooner eſtabliſhed in this eccleſiaſtical office, than he reſigned the monaſtery with all its deeds to Edred, who afterwards reſtored them to Turketyl and his monks, in a full aſſembly of the ſtates at London, exempting them from all ſervice and incumbrances, and confirming all the former privileges of the monaſtery, excluſive of its being a ſanctuary, which the abbot wiſely refuſed.

Dunſtan being promoted to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, exerted all his power and influence to re-eſtabliſh the monks in poſſeſſion of the monaſteries which were occupied by the ſecular clergy; and if Edred had lived a little longer, he would probably have accompliſhed his aim. But that prince dying before he could bring his project to bear, his ſucceſſor Edwy fruſtrated all his endeavours, and not only ſtripped the monks of their benefices, but alſo expelled them from the monaſteries of Abingdon and Malmeſbury. We have already obſerved, that the clamour raiſed by the monks on this occaſion, coſt Edwy the beſt part of his dominions; and deſcribed the ſteps which were taken in the ſucceeding reign by Dunſtan, to expel the ſecular prieſts in their turn, on pretence that they did not lead a life of celibacy, according to the inſtitutions of the councils and ſee of Rome. Yet, notwithſtanding all his credit and eagerneſs of affection for the monks, it was not

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in his power to re-eſtabliſh them in the monaſteries of the North, which had been deſerted above two hundred years; inſomuch that the order was ſcarce known in the province of Northumberland.

In the reign of Edward a body of canons was compoſed from the capitularies of Charlemagne, providing for the punctual payment of tythes and Peter-pence, the obſervation of Sunday, and the puniſhment of corrupt judges. Theſe were followed by another ſet, by which it appears that prieſts took young ſtudents to ſerve a kind of noviciate before they were admitted to holy orders; for one of the canons forbids any prieſt to take a ſtudent without the conſent of his former tutor. Another obliges every prieſt to learn ſome occupation, as an handicraftſman: and the reſt enjoin all eccleſiaſtics to learn the creed and pater-noſter, to have the hoſt always in readineſs, and burn it carefully when it grows ſtale, ſo as the aſhes may be put under the altar. Parents were obliged to teach their children the Lord's prayer and apoſtle's creed, as an indiſpenſible qualification for their receiving the ſacrament. No perſon was to eat or drink before receiving the communion. None but perſons of good lives were to be buried in churches. This body of canons likewiſe contains the marriage of prieſts, and a ſtrong injunction upon all chriſtians to abſtain from eating blood;

blood; the collection concludes with penitentiary canons, by which it appears, that delinquents were allowed either to buy off their penance, or do it by proxy; and that the penitent should say the Lord's prayer, by way of penance, threescore times a day.

‡ Oswald, bishop of Worcester, being preferred to the see of York, invited several foreign monks to settle in England, twelve of whom he sent to Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, where Alvin, duke of East-Anglia, had founded a religious house; and, among other immunities specified in the charter, it was ordained, that no bishop should demand any entertainment, or exact any contributions from the monks of that society.

At the death of Edgar, the secular clergy renewed their claims under Alfgar duke of Mercia, who drove the monks from their possessions in his government, while they were supported by another party of the nobility in the interest of Dunstan. In the course of this contest several councils were assembled, at which an Irish bishop, called Beornhelm, undertook the cause of the secular priests, and offered to dispute in public on the subject: but Dunstan declined the challenge, on pretence that he was old and infirm; and that it would be impious to admit any dispute on a subject which had been determined by the miraculous interposition of heaven; for, as we

‡ A. D. 964.

we have obſerved in a former volume, a crucifix was heard to ſpeak in favour of the monks. Beſides which, its deciſion was confirmed by the preſervation of Dunſtan and his aſſociates, when the houſe fell down, and buried all the reſt of the aſſembly in its ruins.

Dunſtan was ſucceeded by Ethelgar, originally a monk of Glaſtonbury; after whom the archbiſhop's ſee was occupied by Siricius, from the ſame ſeminary, who had before been preferred to the ſee of Ramſbury in Wiltſhire. This prelate's memory is unjuſtly branded for having perſuaded king Ethelred to purchaſe a peace of the Danes; though it muſt be obſerved, that no part of the Danegelt was levied by the clergy.

* Under the reign of this prince a miſſion was ſent from England, at the requeſt of Anlaf king of Norway, to convert his ſubjects and the Swedes to the chriſtian religion. The chiefs of this miſſion were, Sigisfred archbiſhop of York, Eſchil, Barnard, and Gotibald: the firſt was made biſhop of Wexca in Eaſt Gothland, where he died, after a ſeries of ſucceſsful labours. Barnard baptiſed king Anlaf; Eſchil is enrolled in the Engliſh martyrology; and Gotibald, after having been created a biſhop, loſt his life in Sweden

It is worthy our notice, that, during this prince's reign, the Engliſh church, though it had

* A. D. 988.

had conformed to several innovations introduced by the Roman see, had not adopted the doctrine of transubstantiation. As a confirmation of the truth of this assertion, the reader is desired to consider the following translation from one of the Saxon homilies in the Bodleian library: "There is a great difference "between the invisible qualities of this sa- "crament, and what it appears to us in its "sensible qualities. In its sensible qualities "it is corruptible bread and wine, but by "virtue of the divine institution, it is truly "the body and blood of our Lord JESUS "CHRIST, after consecration; yet not in a "corporeal, but in a spiritual manner. The "body in which Jesus Christ suffered, and "the eucharistical body, are widely diffe- "rent. The first was born of the blessed "virgin, and consisted of blood, bones, "nerves, and limbs, animated by a rational "soul; but the eucharistical body is com- "posed of several grains of wheat, and has "neither blood, bones, nerves, limbs, nor "soul: we ought not then to form any cor- "poreal idea of it, but to understand it in a "spiritual sense." This homily is supposed to have been translated by Alfric archbishop of Canterbury, who, in one of his letters to the clergy, corroborated this opinion, in his letter to Wulstan in the following words: "Ne bith se lifiica hlaf LICHAMLICE swa "theah ne se YLCA LICHAMA THE CRIST

"ON

" ON THROUODE, ne thæt halig thin Næs
" thæs hæbendes blod THE FOR US AGO-
" TEN WÆS on LICHAMLICAN THING.
" Ac on GASTLICUM ANDGYTE." " Ne-
" vertheleſs the bread of life is not corpo-
" rally the ſame body *in which* CHRIST *ſuf-*
" *fered*, nor the conſecrated wine the blood
" of Jeſus, which was poured out for us, in
" a corporal manner, but in a ſpiritual
" ſenſe." This extract is copied from the collection of Saxon homilies, which formerly belonged to the church of Worceſter, and is now at Bennet college, Cambridge; of which a copy is likewiſe to be ſeen at the Bodleian library, Oxford. In the ſame library, among the Junian manuſcripts, this epiſtle occurs under the Saxon title, " Be preoſte ſinothe," which ſupplies a remarkable paragraph, that is caſtrated, or eraſed from the copy at Bennet college. " The ſacrament of the eucha-
" riſt," ſays this copy, " is not the body in
" which our Saviour ſuffered for us, nor the
" blood he ſhed for our ſakes, but it becomes
" his body and his blood in a ſpiritual ſenſe,
" in the ſame manner as the manna, which
" fell from heaven, and the water which
" flowed from the rock."

Though the church of this kingdom preſerved its purity in this reſpect, yet it could not boaſt it in others. The invocation of ſaints and other corruptions were adopted by

the zealot, and confirmed by the compliance of the unlearned.

Among the canons which go under the name of Alfric, whose epistle we have lately quoted; the twenty-second enjoins the priest to read the Lord's prayer, the gospel and the creed, in English, to the people. It likewise enjoins the priest to keep two sorts of consecrated oil, one for children and the other for the sick. The latter are ordered always to be anointed upon their beds, and to confess themselves before the ceremony was performed. As for the priest, he was forbidden to perform this ceremony till asked by the diseased person. Hence we may observe, that extreme unction was not yet introduced; and that it was a weed of more modern growth, than the papists choose to acknowledge.

So far had christianity deviated from its primitive purity, so far were the pretended successors of the apostles from paying the scriptures that veneration which an inspired book claims, that the four general councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, are, in the thirty-third canon, set on a level with the four gospels. The other councils are indeed represented by this canon, of inferior authority. Whence it is evident, that the author of the canons did not think all the councils equally infallible: which is contrary to the doctrine of modern

Rome,

Rome, who pays the ſame deference to the council of Trent as to that of Nice, and looks upon all the councils as equally infallible.

Alfric, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was ſucceeded by * Alfage, who was of noble extraction, and had been a monk of Deerhurſt in Glouceſterſhire. He was afterwards abbot of a ſociety at Bath; from which, by the intereſt of Dunſtan, he was preferred to the ſee of Wincheſter, which he poſſeſſed about two and twenty years. Before his elevation to the ſee of Canterbury, the fame of his ſanctity had ſpread itſelf all over Europe; ſo that when he went to Rome for the pall, the pope received him with uncommon marks of eſteem and affection. While he poſſeſſed the archbiſhopric, ſeveral councils were held, conſiſting of temporal and eccleſiaſtical powers, aſſembled to remedy the diſorders both in church and ſtate. We have, in a former volume, related the cataſtrophe of this prelate, who was barbarouſly murdered by the Danes, becauſe he either could not, or would not pay the exorbitant ranſom they demanded. However, he, by his death, acquired a place in the ‡ martyrology;

* A. D. 1006.

‡ Lantranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the time of William the Conqueror, queſtioned his right to the title of a martyr, becauſe he was not put to death on account of religion, but becauſe he would not conſent that the people of his dioceſe ſhould pay his ranſom. Anſelm, abbot of Bec, who was conſulted on this occaſion, removed

tyrology; and was ſucceeded in the ſee of Canterbury by Living, formerly biſhop of Wells, who was taken and treated with great barbarity by the Danes, from whom he eſcaped after a confinement of ſeven months, and retired to the continent, where he remained until the troubles had ſubſided; afterwards he returned to his ſee, and died A. D. 1020. His ſucceſſor was Agelnorth, ſurnamed the Good, ſon of Agilſper, an abbot of Canterbury at the time of his predeceſſor's deceaſe. This prelate had great influence with king Canute, who owed no ſmall part of his popularity to the primate's advice. A great many eccleſiaſtical laws were enacted in this prince's reign for the honour and advantage of the church: in particular, a body compiled and enacted at Wincheſter, confirming, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the reſpect due to ſanctuaries, and impowering prieſts to purge themſelves of all crimes laid to their charge, by ſaying maſs, and taking the ſacrament, though the evidence againſt them ſhould be never ſo ſtrong. The celibacy of the clergy ſeems to have been particularly recommended; and as the law which recommends it is ſomewhat remarkable, we may tranſlate it thus, word for word, "If "a prieſt abſtains from a woman, may God "have

removed the primate's ſcruples, by aſſerting, that the perſon who would rather ſacrifice his life than do an unjuſt thing, deſerved to receive the crown of martyrdom at his death.

" have mercy upon him, and let him have the " worldly honour of a thane." At funerals the dues were to be paid before the breaking up of the ground; and in caſe the deceaſed ſhould be buried in another pariſh, the dues were to be paid to that which he belonged to.

We have already mentioned the gradual corruption of the Engliſh church, and its adopting the errors of the ſee of Rome. In Canute's time the compliance of the Engliſh ſeemed to be very far advanced, and its deviation from the purity of the goſpel almoſt ſufficient to entitle it to the character of orthodox from the pope. The invocation of the virgin Mary, and ſaints in glory, was now introduced, but not in ſo direct a manner as in after-times: the addreſs towards them being rather in form of a wiſh, than an immediate application for their aſſiſtance. In the great charter of Canute to the abbey of Glaſtonbury, mention is made of the bleſſed Virgin and all the ſaints, as intreating interceſſion for the patrons of that monaſtery; the words of the original are, " Si quis ----- " defenſare ſtuduerit; beatiſſimæ Dei geni- " tricis Mariæ, et omnium ſanctorum inter- " ceſſione, amplificet Deus portionem ejus in " terra viventium." But as ſome are ſcrupulous with reſpect to the authenticity of charters made in theſe times, the aſſertion may be corroborated from the public litany then read in the church. After the invoca-

tion of the Holy Trinity, these words are twice repeated, "O holy Mary, pray for us." The angels and saints are likewise then severally addressed by name. We have observed that when this practice was first introduced, the words of the address were not so direct, which is evident from the public office of canonical hours, used in Latin by the Saxons; the words of the original are, "Sancta Dei genetrix virgo Maria, et omnes sancti Dei, intercedant, pro nobis peccatoribus, ad Dominum, ut mereamur ab eo adjuvari et salvari, qui vivis et regnas Deus." i. e. "May the holy Virgin, and all the blessed saints, intercede for us, &c." It is somewhat remarkable, that though the Lord's prayer, creed, the psalms, prayers, and lessons, are in Latin, in this office, yet at the end of every verse, or article, a Saxon paraphrase is added, that the people might understand what was said. The reader may be able to collect from the paragraph produced from this office, that the address is what we stiled it, rather a pious wish than a direct invocation. The immediate address, as far as we have been able to trace it, does not seem to have been introduced into the English service, till the tenth century, at which time, in the homily of the assumption of the blessed Virgin, we find a direct prayer to the blessed Virgin for her intercession.

Agel-

Agelnoth was a prelate of equal piety and conſtancy; for, at the acceſſion of Harold Harefoot, he reſolutely refuſed to perform the ceremony of that prince's coronation, declaring that he had promiſed Canute to crown no prince but the poſterity of Emma. Having delivered his ſentiments with this reſolute freedom, he ſet the diadem on the altar, and denounced the vengeance of heaven upon any prelate who ſhould place it on the head of Harold. * At his death the archbiſhopric was conferred upon Eadſius, Harold's chaplain, who afterwards crowned Edward the Confeſſor, and inſtructed that prince in the knowledge of the Engliſh laws and conſtitution. As this prelate was of an infirm conſtitution, during his infirmities he was indulged ſo far as to adminiſter his ſee by a deputy, named chorepiſcopus, who at that time lived at St. Martin's in the Fields.

Whatever pains Eadſius might have taken with his royal pupil, he could not perſuade him to comply with the character and genius of the Engliſh nation; for, not contented with introducing the manners, cuſtoms, and language of the Normans, he preferred Robert, one of his Norman ſervants, to the ſee of Canterbury; and two other chaplains ſucceſſively to the biſhopric of London. By this partiality he involved himſelf in ſuch perplexity and diſtreſs, that he was obliged to purchaſe

* A. D. 1038.

purchaſe his eaſe, by ſuffering theſe foreigners to be expelled. Prior to this expulſion, one Herman, a Fleming, being promoted to the ſee of Wilton, was not contented with this proviſion; but a vacancy happening in the abbey of Malmeſbury, ſolicited the king for its being united to his biſhopric. The king, who could refuſe a foreigner nothing, granted his requeſt, together with an order, importing, that the abbey ſhould be diſſolved in three days. One of the monks being appriſed of this decree, had recourſe to the patronage of Earl Goodwin, who was highly pleaſed with ſuch an opportunity of oppoſing foreign influence at court. He repreſented to Edward the injuſtice of his order, and deſired he would immediately revoke his grant. Edward dreading his power, his abilities, and his reſentment, if not convinced by his remonſtrance, immediately complied with his requeſt; and the Fleming left England in great diſguſt. But not reliſhing the auſterities of a monaſtic life, which he had, in the firſt emotions of his reſentment, embraced, he returned to England during Goodwin's diſgrace, and prevailed upon Edward to unite the ſees of Ramſbury and Sherburn, in his favour.

When Robert, and other foreigners were obliged to abandon this iſland, the ſee of Canterbury devolved to Stigand, which he held without reſigning the biſhopric of Wincheſter,

ter, already in his poſſeſſion. He had been formerly biſhop of Elman, in Norfolk, and ejected in conſequence of a quarrel with one Grimkettle; but he found means to retrieve his intereſt, and get himſelf eſtabliſhed in the ſee of Selſey, while his brother Ethelmar was made biſhop of the Eaſt-Angles. At this period, a revolution happened in the ſee of Crediton, in Devonſhire, which was removed to Exeter, under a Lorrainer, called Leoffric, a man of great learning and quality, who was highly honoured and eſteemed by Edward and his queen. He ejected all the monks from the monaſteries of St. Peter, and introduced canons in their ſtead, who eat together at one table, ſlept in one apartment, and were provided with food and raiment by a ſteward of the biſhop's appointing.

King Edward being diſturbed with ſome ſcruples concerning a vow, he had made in his diſtreſs, to viſit Rome, which the kingdom was very averſe to his performing; by the advice of his council, he ſent Alured biſhop of Worceſter, with an embaſſy to the pope, deſiring that his holineſs would abſolve him from his obligation, as the welfare of his ſubjects did not permit him to undertake the journey in perſon.

Leo IX. who then filled the papal chair, complied with the king's requeſt, on condition of his diſtributing in alms, a ſum equal to what he might have expended in his journey;

ney, besides founding a new monastery, the charter of which he confirmed before-hand.

Egilric, about this time, resigned the see of Durham, to his brother Egilwin, who found a great treasure in laying the foundation of a church, dedicated to St. Cuthbert; and was so enriched by this accident, that he laid aside his episcopal function, and employed himself in carrying on works for the public emolument of his country.

Edward, on occasion of consecrating the church and abbey of Westminster, which he undertook by the pope's advice, resolved to send another embassy to Rome, for the confirmation of the privileges bestowed upon this new foundation. The persons nominated for this service, were Aldred archbishop of York, Goodwin's son Toston, Giso bishop of Wells, and Walter bishop of Hereford.

Pope Nicholas II. received all these deputies with great honour, excepting Aldred, who holding the sees of York and Worcester together, without any dispensation from his holiness, was tried and convicted of simony, and divested of his character and jurisdiction. The ambassadors being dismissed by his holiness, had scarce lost sight of Rome, when they were set upon and robbed by the banditti: a circumstance which obliged them to return to the city, that they might be equipped a-new for their journey. Toston took this opportunity of demanding that the pope would

would indemnify him for the damage he had ſuſtained, as we have related in a former volume.

Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was looked upon as an uſurper by the ſee of Rome, becauſe he had taken poſſeſſion during the life of Robert the Norman, and had not yet received the pall from his holineſs. Stigand, nevertheleſs, performed his metropolitan functions, without paying any regard to the diſapprobation of the pope, and was countenanced in his contumacy by his being, notwithſtanding, conſidered and revered as an archbiſhop by the king and people of England. That the conſecration of Wulfstan, ſhould not any ways affect his authority, he obliged Aldred to declare, before the king and council, that he renounced all pretenſions to eccleſiaſtical or ſecular authority over Wulfstan, whom he had conſecrated.

After this rude ſketch of the Engliſh eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, it will not be improper to give a brief abſtract of the tranſactions of the Welch church, during the ſame period. In or near the reign of Alfred, ſix ſynods were held at Landaff, though the dates of them are very uncertain. In the firſt, king Tudor was excommunicated, for being guilty of perjury and murder. The ſecond, aſſembled by biſhop Berthguin, pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt king Cloti, for the ſame offences. The third paſſed

ſed the like cenſure upon Gurcan, for the crime of inceſt with his own mother-in-law. Biſhop Cerenhir aſſembled the fourth ſynod, in which king Howel was ſtigmatiſed for murder and perjury. The ſame prelate preſided in the fifth, and proceeded in the ſame manner againſt Conbli, for the ſame offences. The ſixth was held by Civeilliane, againſt king Brochvail, who had incurred his diſpleaſure; and all theſe kings, who were no other than petty toparchs, made very humble ſubmiſſion, underwent ſevere penance, and paid heavy fines to the church before they obtained abſolution

Beſides theſe, there was another council convened at the ſame place, on account of ſome ravages committed againſt the church, by king Nougui, who ſubmitted to the cenſure of the ſynod. A ſubſequent aſſembly was called, to deliberate upon the violation of a ſanctuary, from which the magiſtrate had forcibly taken a deacon, guilty of perfidious murder. The rights of the church and ſanctuary were vigorouſly ſupported on this occaſion, and the civil power was compelled to deliver up the criminal. The laſt convocation was held by Gurcan, whom Dunſtan had conſecrated biſhop of Landaff, in order to denounce excommunication againſt Arthmail, who had murdered his own brother. The criminal ſubmitted to the juriſdiction of the

the ſynod, and purchaſed his pardon with a large ſum for the benefit of the clergy.

Hoel Dha, that is, Howel the Good, cotemporary with Edmund king of England, has left a conſiderable collection of canons, compoſed in an aſſembly of the ſtates of his kingdom. A committee of one clergyman, and twelve laymen, was appointed to draw up the form of theſe laws, the moſt remarkable of which is the twelfth canon; by which it was provided, that a married woman ſhould be intitled to a ſeparation, and the reſtitution of her fortune, provided her huſband ſhould be impotent, afflicted with the ſcab, or have a *ſtinking breath.*

Thus, whether we turn our eyes towards the eaſt or weſt quarter of this kingdom, we find popery equally ſapping the foundations of civil power, or obſcuring the pure light of the goſpel. Ceremonies were enforced at the expence of piety, and external rites got the better of internal piety. Monaſteries were the receptacles of the indolent and luxurious, the retreat of and aſylums of the peſts of ſociety, and by encouraging inactivity, unſociableneſs, and indolence, went a great way towards extirpating every generous and benevolent principle from the nation. The clergy, not ſatisfied with tyranizing over the conſciences of the people, aſſumed the ſame power over their ſovereigns, and ſnatching the ſcepters from their hands, ſent them to exchange

their crowns for the eccleſiaſtical tonſure, and perſuaded them to ſleep out the reſidue of their lives in the gloomy receſſes of a cloiſter. Servile to the laſt degree, the ſimple monarch bowed his neck to the yoke, and looked upon the deſertion of his people's welfare as a qualification for heaven, and the frown of a Popiſh minion was ſufficient to crown or to dethrone whom he pleaſed.

Not content with authority, the ambitious monks thirſted for riches, and kings were obliged to alienate the demeſnes of the crown to ſatisfy their avarice, and to avoid their cenſures. When the nation was thus exhauſted of its treaſures, in contributions paid to the pope, when the revenues of the crown were diminiſhed by exceſſive grants made to religious houſes, was it any wonder, that a conqueror, who marched with the conſecrated banner before him, ſhould meet with ſucceſs in a kingdom, whoſe internal principle of defence was ſeized on by the clergy, who were friends to his undertaking, and by intereſt itſelf the enemies of their * lawful ſovereign?

* That the reader may not imagine this to be nothing but mere declamation, it will not be amiſs to produce the following extract from the manuſcript life of Fretheric in the book of St. Alban's. "The Conqueror being at ſupper at Berkhamſtead caſtle with ſeveral of the nobility, could not, among other topics of diſcourſe, forbear expreſſing his wonder, that he ſhould have ſubdued the kingdom in one battle, tho' it had reſiſted the Danes during many years before.

Moſt

Moſt of the company being at a loſs what to anſwer, Fretheric, abbot of St. Alban's, revived the diſcourſe by the following reply: The reaſon may eaſily be aſſigned, if all circumſtances be conſidered: formerly the nation was defended by the ſword, but the lands which maintained the ſoldier having lately been converted to maintain the monk and other religious, the warriors had on that account laid their ſwords on the altars of oriſons, and became votaries; whoſe prayers for your ſucceſs, O king, have pierced deeper than their ſwords, whoſe edges are now covered with ruſt, and grown blunt for want of uſe. Your highneſs therefore is under an obligation to protect and patroniſe thoſe who have been the cauſe of your having purchaſed your victory ſo eaſily." See likewiſe *Speed's Hiſt.* b. ix. c. 11. p. 425. *Acherley's Britannic Conſtitution*, chap. iii. ſect. 3. p. 167.

BRITISH
MUSEUM

WILLIAM the CONQUEROR.

Engravd for Rider's History of England.

BOOK VI.

Containing an account of the Engliſh affairs from the NORMAN *Conqueſt to the death of King* STEPHEN.

*WILLIAM, *ſurnamed the* Baſtard, *or the* Conqueror.

BY the defeat of Haſtings, the Engliſh were not only deprived of their king, the † flower of their nobility, but likewiſe of every proſpect and expedient for repairing their loſs. Harold's brothers were ſlain, his

* He was the ſon of Robert II. duke of Normandy, ſome ſay by a concubine named Harlotta; but, according to Carte and Tillet, his mother's name was Harleva. She was the daughter of Fourbet, the duke's valet de chambre, and ſon of a tanner of Falaiſe. Such miſalliances at that time were reputed ſo diſhonourable, that a wife of ignoble birth, however lawfully wedded, paſſed for nothing better than a concubine, and the iſſue ſhe had by her huſband for little better than baſtards.

† Among others was Bertram, one of the anceſtors of the Aſhburnham family, to whom Harold gave commiſſion

children had made their || escape into Ireland: Edgar Atheling, though beloved and caressed by the people, had neither spirit, abilities, nor inclination, to seize on the helm in so tempestuous a season. Count Morcar, and his brother Edwin, had retired to London with the forces under their command, before the fate of Harold was decided. They might indeed have contributed to have turned the scale in favour of this young prince; but as they affected the government themselves, their measures showed nothing

mission to raise forces in his behalf. He was a person of great opulence, power, abilities, and valour, and exerted his loyalty in a manner that must endear his memory to posterity.

|| Three of his sons, namely Goodwin, Edmund, and Magnus, had interest enough, after their father's death, to carry off the greatest part of his fleet, which enabled them to make many attempts, as we shall hereafter see, against the power of the Normans: but proving always unsuccessful, they at length retired to Denmark, where they were kindly received; and where, tormented by a quick sense of their misfortunes, they languished out the remainder of their lives. This circumstance is taken notice of, as it serves to explain the succeeding part of our history, and shows how the Norman power at sea came to be so low, for a considerable space after the conquest, as well as why the northern princes were so ready to give assistance to such as undertook to disturb this new possessor of the English crown: in which scheme we shall find that persons, who had very different interests, concurred, upon the old maxim in politics, that in acting against a common enemy, the principles of particular parties may, and in prudence ought, to be suspended. *Campbell's Naval History*, vol. I. p. 86. 4th edit.

nothing but diſtraction, and their ambition ſerved only to rivet the chains of ſlavery more ſtrongly. Diverſity of intereſt produced diverſity of opinions, terror and deſpair ſeized on the minds of all the Engliſh, who, inſtead of uniting themſelves in defence of their liberties at this important criſis, did all in their power to promote the deſigns of the Conqueror. All reſpect to authority was loſt, every ſalutary ſcheme was oppoſed, and the whole kingdom was nothing but a ſcene of perplexity, of confuſion, and of anarchy.

While this ſcene of diſtraction continued ſpreading at London, William was taking meaſures for his ſecurity againſt any unforeſeen accident. The loſs of a battle he knew might at firſt aſtoniſh the Engliſh, but muſt have been ſo far acquainted with their character as to be convinced, that, after they had recovered from their panic, they would grow deſperate from the proſpect of their calamity, reſume their courage, and their ardour of revenge, from the very idea of their being beaten, and their defeat might conſequently prove the cauſe of their victory. As they had ſtill reſources of men and arms, as their nobles were naturally ambitious, and averſe to the leaſt ſhadow of ſervitude, he could not but expect they would once more try their fortune in the field; and if he ſhould be defeated in his turn, he knew his caſe would be deſperate, and inevitable ruin muſt enſue. For as yet he had

no

no place of retreat, wherein he might wait till he received reinforcements from Norway, or find a proper place for securing himself in till he had embarked the remains of his army. Apprehensive that if he should march immediately to London, the factions which now promoted his designs, might unite, from a prospect of their present danger, he pursued his scheme of making himself master of some maritime fortress, at a distance, and by this masterpiece of generalship provided against all inconveniencies.

After staying a few days at Hastings to refresh his troops, he left a garrison in the place, and marched to Rumney, which place he sacked out of revenge for the treatment that the crew of one of his ships had suffered at this place. From hence he advanced to Dover, a place fortified by nature, but more tenable at this time on account of the vast number of soldiers who had fled hither immediately after the late battle. Though it might, on this account, have stood a long siege, yet the consternation of the besieged was so great, that they entered into terms for the surrender of the town and castle as soon as William appeared before it.

While this treaty was carrying on, the Normans burnt several houses; which afforded William a favourable idea of his equity, lenity, and generosity. With this view he made good the damages

damages that the inhabitants had ſuſtained by the imprudence of his men, and at the ſame time gave them grounds to ſuſpect that he would treat them more like ſubjects, than a conquered people. After the ſurrender of this place, William was obliged to ſtay for eight days, on account of the dyſentery, which raged in his army, and carried off great numbers of his men. This interval was not paſſed in inactivity, but expended in adding ſuch works to the fortifications of the place as might protect it from a ſurpriſe.

After having thus augmented the fortifications of Dover, which Matthew Paris juſtly ſtiles the lock and key of the kingdom, William marched towards London, but was detained in his way for ſome days on account of his being affected with the ſame diſorder as his men had juſt recovered from *.

Whilſt he was engaged at Dover, and was on his march from thence, the ‡ Londoners began to have a proper regard for their intereſt,

* Speed and other hiſtorians inform us, that he was ſurpriſed in his march by the Kentiſhmen, who had concealed themſelves by means of large boughs, which at a diſtance looked like a wood. But this ſtory contradicts itſelf, as it mentions that they marched with green boughs in their hands in the beginning of *November*.

‡ The weight of this city was very great even in theſe early timee, on account of its wealth, military proweſs, and the number of its citizens. Fitz-Stephens obſerves, that, in the time of king Stephen, it was able to muſter 60,000 foot, and 20,000 horſe, all well accoutered and armed.

reſt, and endeavoured to rob him of the fruit of his victory, by placing Edgar Atheling, the darling of the people, on the throne. As theſe citizens inſiſted upon this meaſure with ſome warmth, Morcar and Edwin, though it was a ſtep contrary to their own pretenſions, ſeemed to join with them for the preſent. Archbiſhop Stigand, who was the only prelate that was an enemy to the Conqueror's ſucceſs, favoured their motion with the greateſt eagerneſs; and Edgar Atheling being crowned with the general conſent of the nobility, orders were iſſued for levying a new army to ſupport his title. The only inſtance we have of the exertion of this prince's ſovereignty, was his giving his aſſent to the election of Brand, in the room of Leofric abbot of Peterborough, who died at this junction.

The attempt of raiſing an army in defence of the kingdom is ſuppoſed to have been rendered ineffectual by the ſecret machinations of Morcar and Edwin, who took the firſt opportunity of retiring from London with the Northumbrian and Mercian forces.

William continued his march towards London in three diviſions, which advanced by different routes, and had orders to deſtroy the country with fire and ſword, where they met with the leaſt reſiſtance.

Fretheric, abbot of St. Alban's, was the only perſon who put any impediment in his way,

way, and ſignalized himſelf, not only for his courage, but likewiſe for the manly reply he made to the Conqueror on this occaſion. William being ſtopped in his march by the trees which he had ordered to be felled and placed in his way, ordered him to appear before him, aſſuring him, that he ſhould be free from any harm, if he complied. On his appearance, being aſked why he had endeavoured to block up his paſſage, the royal abbot replied, with the greateſt intrepidity, "I have done what was required of me, "both by my * birth and my duty; if others "of my rank had but done the ſame, as they "eaſily might, and ought to have done, it "had not been in your power to have pene-"trated ſo far into the country, as this "place."

The duke, ſtruck with the boldneſs of the reply, and too politic to take any ſtep which might animate the Engliſh to reſentment, diſmiſſed the abbot unhurt, and proceeded on his march towards London.

As he advanced, he ſpread terror wherever he came, and thinking to intimidate the Londoners, ſet fire to ſeveral houſes on the Surry-ſide of the river, which had the effect he deſired. The preparations made for levying forces were dropped, and a general defection

* He was deſcended on one ſide from the Saxon kings, and on the other from king Canute the Dane.

of

of the leſſer nobility enſued. The prieſts, who knew that William had the pope's ſanction for his invaſion, were unwilling to expoſe themſelves to his cenſures, by oppoſing the duke's deſigns; nay, they went farther, and thinking to make a merit of betraying their country, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the Londoners to ſubmit, without making the leaſt reſiſtance. Theſe repreſentations operated ſo ſtrongly on the minds of ſome, that they were for opening their gates immediately; but others, who were true friends to liberty, thought that this was a ſtep they ſhould not take till they had tried every other means in their power. Inſpired with this noble reſolution, and reſolving to deſerve ſucceſs, though it was not in their power to enſure it, they determined to attack the duke at the head of his diviſion, before he could be joined by the reſt of his army. Suppoſing that the fatigue his men ſuſtained by their march, might give them ſome advantage, they marched out againſt him. The Norman, who was too vigilant to be ſurpriſed, and too politic to harraſs his army by forced marches, diſappointed their hopes; and the five hundred men, which they attacked, gave them ſo warm a reception, that they were entirely routed, and obliged to retire with the greateſt precipitation. This check ſtruck ſuch a panic

Deputies from London presenting Keys to **WILLIAM** *the Conqueror.*

Buttre Sculp.

Engraved for Rider's History of England.

BRITISH MUSEUM

nic among Edgar's friends, and furniſhed the clergy with ſuch an opportunity of enforcing their perſuaſions, that moſt of thoſe who had been deaf before, now liſtened to their arguments, and became their proſelytes. The men of power, ſeeing that Edgar's affairs were irretrievable, and foreſeeing that their ſtay might involve them in his ruin, retired with their forces from the city, and conſulted their own ſafety by their flight.

In the midſt of this confuſion, the Londoners received advice, that William had paſſed the Thames at Wallingford, and was now arrived as far as Berkhamſtead. He had already reduced the counties of Suſſex, Kent, Surry, Middleſex and Hertford; and his route towards Berkhamſtead might have been traced by the towns he had burnt, and the men he had put to the ſword, in his way thither. Such ſcenes of conflagration filled them with horror, and while they were ſhocked at the fate of their neighbours, they could not help thinking that their own ruin was approaching, and that they would themſelves ſoon be involved in the ſame calamity. William, biſhop of London, who was a Norman by birth, inſtead of pacifying their fears, did all he could to aggrandize them, and being by nation a favourer of the duke, endeavoured to recommend himſelf to his notice by the warmth with which he eſpouſed his in-

tereſts. Flattered by this prelate with the hopes of experiencing the ſame benevolence as his Norman ſubjects, the nobles, accompanied by Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Wulſtan, biſhop of Winchester, Walter, biſhop of Hereford, and the moſt eminent perſons of London, endeavoured by a voluntary ſubmiſſion to gain the duke's favour, and, for that purpoſe, repaired to him at Berkhamſtead, ſwore fealty to him, and entered into a * contract with him for their own ſecurity. An example which had received the ſanction of an archbiſhop and other prelates, could not fail of having great influence on the reſt of the Londoners; as he likewiſe drew nearer to the city, the influence of their example grew more efficacious; the magiſtrates apprehenſive of a ſiege, went to preſent him the keys, and were received with all the politeneſs they could expect from a perſon, whoſe intereſt it was to endear himſelf to the nation, and make himſelf as popular as poſſible by his humanity and affability.

The Londoners, having made this ſacrifice of their liberty, thought they had now gone too far, if they did not proceed farther; the only way to ſecure his favour was to anticipate his wiſhes, and make a merit of giving him that, which he was in a condition to ſeize, if they refuſed it. For this reaſon, after conſulting with the

* The original words of S. Dunelm are "ipſe *fœdus* pepigit." See Hovenden.

pre-

prelates and nobles, who had already made their ſubmiſſion, they unanimouſly reſolved to place him on the throne, and went in a body to make him a tender of the crown, telling him, that they had always been accuſtomed to live under a kingly government, and knew no perſon more worthy of that dignity than himſelf.

The duke politically forgetting the very end for which he had invaded this kingdom, ſhewed at firſt ſome reluctance in complying with their offer, pretending that it was an affair of ſo much importance, that he could not give them an anſwer till he had firſt conſulted his friends.

After having communicated the application of the Engliſh to his confidents, they joined unanimouſly in perſuading him to comply with their requeſt, and uſed ſuch arguments to engage his conſent, as eaſily prevailed on a mind already determined to do what they perſuaded him to. Yielding to their agreeable importunities, the duke returned a favourable anſwer to the Londoners, appointed Chriſtmas-day for his coronation, and gave them ſtrong aſſurances that they ſhould not repent of their offer.

Though the Londoners had delivered hoſtages as a ſecurity for their fidelity, William did not care to truſt himſelf in the city, till he had built a fortreſs in it to awe the inhabitants, and had ſecured it by a ſtrong garriſon of Normans.

While this was erecting he kept himſelf at Berking in Eſſex, and cauſed preparations to be made for his coronation, which were both ſplendid and magnificent.

It being the undoubted right of the archbiſhop of Canterbury to place the crown on the king's head on this occaſion, William is ſaid to have applied to Stigand for that purpoſe, who refuſed it, "becauſe he had no title to it, and had made his way to the throne by blood, and the invaſion of another perſon's right*." Theſe objections had very little weight with

* This relation is confirmed by *William* of *Newbury*, *Wikes*, *Hemingford*, and *Brumpton*. Rapin and Brady inſinuate, that William would not receive the crown from the hands of Stigand, becauſe he was at that time ſuſpended, if not anathematized, by the pope; in order to prevent any objection that might be made to the validity of his coronation. A modern author informs us, that Stigand, lying under a ſentence of ſuſpenſion by the pope, to whom William owed great obligations, this prince, in order to avoid any objections that might be made to the *informality* of his conſecration, *deſired* that the ceremony might be performed by the archbiſhop of York. Brady and ſome others deny this circumſtance, though founded on inconteſtible authority. This author, Rapin, and others, particularly inform us, that Aldred, after a ſermon or oration made to the Engliſh, asked them, if they conſented that William ſhould be crowned, and that they anſwered in the affirmative, with loud acclamations. The biſhop of Conſtance having put the ſame queſtion to the Normans, and received the like reply, Aldred ſet the crown on his head.

Ald-

Aldred, archbiſhop of York, who thought it more prudent to comply with the conqueror's requeſt, and to perform the ceremony.

Though William was univerſally acknowledged as heir to Edward the confeſſor, yet the manner in which he was crowned by Aldred was ſomewhat ſingular. Former kings only promiſed upon their bare words, but Aldred obliged William to engage himſelf to perform the ſame conditions by an oath. Whatever were his motives, whether to give the nation ſatisfaction, or to make an apology for his performing the ceremony, after Stigand's refuſal, it was not William's intereſt to refuſe it: He complied however, and, as it was agreeable to the Norman cuſtoms, his compliance was, on that account, the more ready.

The recognition of William was attended with a circumſtance, which had like to have proved fatal to the inhabitants of Weſtminſter, and, though this event was prevented, yet it was attended with conſequences that gave the Engliſh the firſt diſguſt to the Norman government.

The conqueror, who was too cautious to truſt himſelf to the numerous militia and the turbulent ſpirit of the Londoners, had, previous to his coronation, erected ſeveral ſmall fortreſſes in the city, and manned them with garriſons, that were ſufficient to ſuppreſs

any ſedition that might ariſe during the ſolemnity of his coronation. But the very meaſures he had taken to guard againſt a tumult, proved the cauſe of one. The abbey was ſurrounded with a body of his forces, but even theſe precautions did not free the Normans from apprehenſions. Thoſe who were without taking the confuſed noiſe of the Engliſh and French voices, which was made on the crown's being placed on the duke's head, for the tumultuous effects of a quarrel, without taking any time for examining into the truth of their ſurmiſes, they ſet fire to the next houſes in the firſt tranſports of their rage. The fire ſpreading from houſe to houſe with great rapidity, occaſioned a general alarm; almoſt every body ran out of the church, the Engliſh to ſtop the fire, and the Normans to plunder. The biſhops, the clergy, and the monks were left behind, but ſo full of conſternation, that they had ſcarce ſpirits enough to proceed in the ceremony; even the conqueror himſelf fled trembling to the altar, expecting to be aſſaſſinated, and unable to determine on any expedient to extricate himſelf from this critical ſituation. The univerſal panic ſoon ſubſided when the miſtake was diſcovered, which had given riſe to this alarm; and, tho' no conſiderable damage was done by the fire, yet it laid a foundation for thoſe ſuſpicions, which made the Normans for ever after the objects of Engliſh reſentment and revenge.

As

As ſoon as his * coronation was over, William retired to Berking, where he remained till the tower of London was built, and other fortreſſes erected. During his ſtay at this place, Edwin and Morcar, earls of Northumberland and Mercia, earl Coxo, Edric Guildoc or Sylvaticus, great nephew to Edric Streona, and lord of Wigmore, with other perſons of diſtinction, repaired to him, with tenders of their ſubmiſſion, and, on ſwearing fealty, were confirmed in the poſſeſſion of their reſpective eſtates. Edgar Atheling, encouraged by his affability and benevolence, quitted his retreat, and viſited him, in order to renounce his pretenſions, and implore his protection. This prince was received with remarkable tenderneſs, and before he was diſmiſſed had the grant of ſeveral large eſtates from the king.

The firſt thing William did, after his coronation, was to make himſelf maſter of Harold's treaſury at Wincheſter, which, though very conſiderable, received no ſmall addition from the bounties and preſents made him by the cities, towns, and wealthy perſons of the kingdom, who choſe rather to employ their vaſt riches in currying the favour of an invader, than in providing for the defence of their liberties and properties. By theſe means William

* A. D. 1067.

was

was enabled to provide for the maintenance of his army, to give rewards to his followers, to diſtribute charities to the monaſteries, to ſend rich ornaments, veſſels and other preſents to a thouſand churches in France, Acquitain, and Burgundy, which had ſaid maſſes for the ſucceſs of his expedition, and to ſend a large ſum of gold and ſilver to the pope, as well as ſeveral coſtly preſents to St. Peter's church at Rome.

As his dominions in Normandy were, during this interval, left in a defenceleſs condition, on account of his troops being employed in England; he had now leiſure to think of going thither in perſon, in order to ſettle the affairs of his dutchy, and prevent it from being attacked by the king of France, who might have been tempted by this opportunity to reunite it to his kingdom.

Yet, previous to this ſtep, William thought it expedient to take ſuch meaſures for the ſecurity of his new conqueſt, as might pacify the minds of the Engliſh nobility, render himſelf popular among perſons of the lower rank, and prevent any commotions in his abſence.

The poſſeſſion of lands, he was convinced, generally gave the poſſeſſor an influence over his tenants, and at the ſame time as it increaſed his wealth, increaſed his power. The eſtates of ſuch of the nobility and gentry as had fallen in the battle, he divided amongſt ſuch of his followers,

lowers, whoſe merits could claim theſe rewards as a return for their ſervices, and as a debt he engaged himſelf to diſcharge, at the time when they firſt eſpouſed his cauſe. Such of the Engliſh as ſurvived the battle had their eſtates confiſcated for the ſame purpoſe. But, in order to obviate any ill effects from their reſentment, or from the apprehenſion which the reſt of the nobility might entertain from the precarious tenure on which they held their own eſtates, he publiſhed a manifeſto, wherein he declared, that he claimed the crown as a legal king, and would govern as ſuch; adding, that, at the ſame time as he puniſhed thoſe, who had taken up arms againſt him in favour of an uſurper, he was determined to maintain all others in the enjoyment of their rights and properties. As none were to be deprived of their eſtates by this edict but thoſe who had appeared againſt him in the field, the noblemen who had remained neuter during his conqueſt, could not but look upon this as an act of juſtice, and while they approved of his equity, could not but be reſtrained from taking part with thoſe, whom it deprived of their eſtates. To confirm them ſtill more ſtrongly in his intereſt, and to give them ſome idea of what they might expect from his bounty, and promiſe themſelves from his favour, he made grants to ſeveral of them, which exceeded their greateſt expectation from their natural parents,

parents, and beſtowed eſtates in Normandy upon others.

In order to give the nation a ſignal mark of his generoſity and magnanimity, he not only confirmed Edgar Atheling in the earldom of Oxford, but granted him likewiſe other lands, pretending a more than ordinary reſpect to him, becauſe he was the nephew of his great benefactor Edward the confeſſor. It was impoſſible for the Engliſh to withſtand the charms of ſuch a conduct, which coincided with their prejudices, and at the ſame time as it exalted their favourite, palliated the invaſion of their conqueror. To convince the Engliſh ſtill more fully of his good intentions, William projected matches between his officers and the Engliſh ladies, and at the ſame time provided Engliſh huſbands for the Norman heireſſes. This ſtep which ſhowed that he had an intention to unite the two nations, ſerved to obviate every ſuſpicion they might entertain of his reviving that partiality to the Normans, which had occaſioned ſo much confuſion in a former reign.

To ingratiate himſelf with the common people, he adviſed his principal officers to treat the Engliſh with humanity, and benevolence; he publiſhed orders throughout his army, forbiding the lower officers to attempt the chaſtity of women, or give the leaſt cauſe of complaint to the inhabitants, under the ſevereſt penalties.

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In order to convince them that the change in the ſucceſſion to the crown ſhould produce no alteration in their condition, he continued to them the enjoyment of their properties, the benefit of their antient laws, the ordinary courſe, and uſual courts of juſtice, and the admirable inſtitution of frank pledges for their common peace and ſecurity. He granted a new charter to the city of London, confirming the privileges and immunities which the citizens enjoyed in the days of Edward the confeſſor.

To confirm the idea which the people had conceived of his fame, by his preſence and the majeſty of his deportment, he made a tour into the provinces of Mercia and Weſſex. In this progreſs he exerted himſelf in extirpating the banditti, or robbers, which infeſted the country, and ſheltered themſelves in the woods, with which the kingdom was, at that time, almoſt covered. Wherever he went he left favourable ideas behind, by making ſuch wiſe regulations, as contributed to preſerve the properties of the inhabitants from rapine, and the peace of the country from diſturbance.

Theſe inſtitutions were noble inſtances of his equity and ſtrong proofs of his policy, yet thinking his character incomplete if he did not convince his ſubjects that he was not leſs moderate than

than juſt, and no leſs pious than moderate*, he built a church and a monaſtery upon the field where Harold was ſlain, ordering the church when finiſhed to be dedicated to St. Martin, and the monaſtery to be called Battle-abbey. The high altar of the church was ſet upon the very ſpot of ground whereon Harold's body was found, or his ſtandard taken up. The abbey was filled with Benedictine monks from the great monaſtery of Wincheſter, and exempted from epiſcopal juriſdiction.

While William was endeavouring to render himſelf popular by his inſtitutions and conceſſions, he did not neglect thoſe precations which were neceſſary to preſerve his conqueſt; and to prevent any ill conſequences that might ariſe from the natural inconſtancy of the Engliſh, during his abſence. With this view the ſtrong forts he had erected in London, Norwich, Wincheſter, Hereford, Haſtings and Dover, were filled with garriſons of Normans, which were picked from the flower of his army.

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* From the manuſcript copy of Matthew Paris in the Cottonian library at the Britiſh muſæum. As this paſſage is omitted in Dr. Watts's edition of this author, it may be no ſmall ſatisfaction to the learned to find it here. "Iſte Willielmus gratias agens deo, pro victoria fundavit abbatiam e bello, non longe ab Haſtingo littore, et nomen tale impoſuit eccleſiæ, a titulo belli.

A militia of natives is what a tyrant or conqueror muſt always look upon as an object of terror, though a native prince muſt eſteem it as the natural, the beſt, and the moſt faithful bulwark of the kingdom. The enterprizing genius of the Engliſh, their natural and inveterate averſion to a foreign prince, their invincible thirſt after liberty, and their abhorrence of every the leaſt ſhadow of ſlavery, convinced the new king, that all his other precautions would be fruſtrated, unleſs he guarded againſt the conſequences, which ſuch a power might produce, when he was in Normandy. From theſe motives, he took ſuch ſteps as muſt always be taken by a tyrant; he diſarmed the inhabitants, and broke their militia. This was done under a pretence of lenity, to eaſe them of their burthens, and to free them from a labour, which might by the indolent be looked upon as an impoſition, and by the malecontented as a foundation for diſturbing the public tranquility. The citizens of London were diſarmed on this occaſion, and, with others, excuſed from the expence of keeping arms ready for ſervice on any emergence, as well as from the avocation of appearing once a year at the annual muſter.

After theſe ſteps had been taken, William prepared to reviſit his native country; which

he did with the greateſt readineſs, as he had already conciliated the affection of the Engliſh, and had very little grounds to apprehend any diſturbance while he was abſent. His brother, Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, and his couſin, William Fitz-Oſborne, whom he had lately created Earl of Hereford, were left regents. The former was placed in Dover caſtle, to guard the county of Kent, and all the adjacent coaſt, and the latter in Wincheſter, to ſecure the northern ports of the kingdom. To provide ſtill againſt any miſchief that might ariſe from thoſe whoſe power or inclination would make them favour a revolt, he reſolved to carry with him ſuch of the nobility whoſe fidelity was in the leaſt ſuſpicious. The chief of theſe were Edgar Atheling, Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Edwin and Morcar, earls of Northumberland and Mercia, Agelnoth, abbot of Glaſtonbury, Waltheof, the ſon of Siward, a perſon of great power in Northumberland, Roger, earl of Hertford, Rainulph, earl of Cambridge, Goſpatrick, earl of Cumberland, Fretherick, abbot of St. Alban's, together with the hoſtages that had been given him by the citizens of London. His pretence for taking theſe noble perſonages with him, was the eſteem he had for their characters, the

pleaſure

pleaſure he received from their converſation, and his intention to ſhew them to the world, as the chief ornaments of his court. As for their parts, they could not but ſee through the vanity of this pretext, and plainly perceive that they were carried abroad as hoſtages to ſecure his conqueſt, to illuſtrate his power, and to adorn his triumph.

It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that he treated them all, and particularly Stigand the archbiſhop, with all the exterior marks of civility and reſpect. He always addreſſed this primate with no other title but that of father; roſe from his ſeat in all aſſemblies to ſalute him; cauſed him to be received on all proper occaſions with ſolemn proceſſions; and paid him every ceremony, and every honour, that was due, either to the dignity of his perſon, or the ſacredneſs of his character.

With this train of honourable captives, he ſet ſail, in Lent, for Normandy, where he was received by his natural ſubjects, with every demonſtration of joy, and every effort of officious gratitude.

He kept his Eaſter in the abbey of Feſtamp, where he was viſited by Rodulph, father-in-law to the king of France, attended by great numbers of the French nobility. The noble gueſts were ſo much ſtruck with the

comelineſs of the Engliſh, that they could not help teſtifying their pleaſure and their admiration; their faces, and the make of their bodies appeared to them adorned with graces, that would have been worthy of notice in a female, but belonging to the male ſex could not fail to raiſe their envy. The richneſs of their habits was ſuch, as they could not ſufficiently admire, and the curiouſneſs of the workmanſhip, was what they had never beheld before. The king and his guards, cloathed with the richeſt embroidery in gold, made a moſt magnificent appearance; the ſumptuouſneſs of his entertainment ſerved to increaſe their ſurprize; and the number, ſize, and maſſineſs of his veſſels in gold and ſilver, aſtoniſhed the ſpectators ſo much, that their very reports of what they had ſeen, ſeemed to be romantic and incredible.

Whilſt William was thus indulging himſelf in his * native country, all the precautions he had

* *Rapin* aſcribes this journey to vanity rather than policy, and repreſents it as both unneceſſary and unreaſonable. Unneceſſary, becauſe his preſence was not wanted in Normandy; and unreaſonable, becauſe it was dangerous for him to leave his new acquiſitions before he was ſufficiently ſettled in the poſſeſſion. But, with due ſubmiſſion to this writer's judgment, we may venture to ſay it was *neceſſary*, becauſe Normandy was left

had uſed to ſecure the tranquility of this kingdom, were fruſtrated, by the behaviour of his regents. Forgetting the orders he had iſſued out to treat the natives with the greateſt moderation, tenderneſs and humanity, or being enjoined to provoke the Engliſh to a rebellion, which might give a ſanction for ſeizing on their properties and robbing them of their liberty, they were guilty of the greateſt exceſſes, and ſtrove, as it were to be excellently injurious. The inferior officers treated the Engliſh gentry with inſolence, loaded the people with grievous exactions, and ſubjected both to ſuch injuries as the free ſpirits of the Engliſh could not endure without reſentment. Odo and Fitzoſborne, inſtead of correcting theſe abuſes, encouraged the perpetrators, and treated the complainants with inſults and outrage. Thus defended in their crimes, the Normans increaſed every day in

left deſtitute of troops by this expedition, and thoſe who conſider how many enemies the duke had in the continent, muſt acknowledge that his preſence was ſeaſonable, to prevent them from entering into ſuch meaſures, as his abſence and the defenceleſs ſtate of his native dominions, might tempt them to. As for the argument of danger, it is already obviated by the relation that has been given of the precautions he had taken before his departure, which would have been ſufficient to have prevented any troubles, had his regents behaved with the leaſt degree of moderation and policy.

their insolence, they plundered the houses of the English, they committed rapes upon the women, and were guilty of such enormities as nothing but cruelty could countenance, nothing but savageness could tolerate. And so savage were the two guardians of the realm, that no complaints of the English could prevail on them for pity, no supplications could move them to redress their grievances.

* The inhabitants of Kent, who were more immediately under the government of Odo, tired of remonstrating in vain, and grown desperate by their sufferings, sent privately to Eustace earl of Boulogne for support, and were

* William of Poictiers, a creature of the conqueror, strives to clear Odo and Fitzosborne from the accusation of misconduct, by throwing the whole blame on the fickleness of the English, who were not to be kept quiet either by fear or favour. The administration of the regents is set in a very favourable light on this occasion; they are represented as having acted with a strict regard to the orders of William, to have had an inviolable regard to justice, and to have given the English no provocation for their revolt, nor even, the least cause for complaint. If the regents are painted in these amiable colours, the characters he draws of the English are not less frightful; mutiny, ingratitude and turbulence, are the chief features that composed their portrait, and their attempt to recover their liberty, after infinite provocations, is represented as the attempt of madmen, who had no other guide but caprice, and no other motive but mutiny.

deter-

determined either to recover their liberty, puniſh their tormentors, or die in the attempt.

It is ſomewhat remarkable that they ſhould ſo ſoon have forgot their animoſity againſt the perſon of this earl, whom they had driven out of their kingdom in a fit of rage not many years before. But it is natural for perſons in danger to catch at any thing to ſave themſelves. In this ſtate of calamity, the Engliſh loſt all remembrance of the averſion to Euſtace, nay what was more they forgot they had treated him with outrage. As for Euſtace himſelf he was no leſs willing to bury his reſentment than the Engliſh; at this juncture he was at variance with the duke, and was glad of an opportunity of making him ſenſible of the weight of his anger. The plan of operations being ſettled, it was agreed upon that he ſhould ſeize upon the caſtle of Dover, and Hugh de Montfort the governor being abſent with part of the garriſon, every thing ſeemed to favour their deſigns. Euſtace croſſed the ſea in the night with a body of troops, and being joined by the Kentiſhmen, thought to ſurpriſe the caſtle, but the garriſon being prepared to receive him, he was beat off when he made his aſſault, and put to flight by the Normans in a ſally, who precipitated great numbers of his men down the cliffs into the ſea, and took his nephew priſoner, Euſtace himſelf with much difficulty eſcaping

caping to his ſhips with a few of his followers. As for his nephew he was deprived of all the lands which the duke had given him in England, as a puniſhment for his temerity. But his perſon being unhurt, he was afterwards reſtored to the favour of the conqueror.

Though this faint ſtruggle after liberty proved abortive, it was far from intimidating the malecontents in other parts of the kingdom. The fire of diſcontent was no ſooner extinguiſhed in one part of the kingdom, than it broke out in another. The ſecond ſcene of trouble lay in the ſhires of Salop and Hereford, where it raged to ſuch a height, as to be thought really dangerous. Edric, ſurnamed the Forreſter, brother to the infamous Edric Streona, was lord of a conſiderable part of the former of theſe counties. On William's coronation he repaired to London, where he met with a favourable reception, and had made his ſubmiſſion in company with ſeveral other nobles. Notwithſtanding this teſtimony of loyalty, his eſtates were continually waſted by Richard Fitz-Scrope, and other Normans in Herefordſhire, which was immediately under the government of William Fitz-Oſborne. Edric, who was a perſon of no leſs prudence than reſolution, never ſuffered them to make their ravages with impunity, but laying in ambuſh would

would attack the plunderers when loaded with booty, and make them pay dearly for the little advantages they had over a country unprovided to reſiſt their attempts, and too weak to chaſtiſe their inſolence. Fired at laſt with their repeated inſults, and determined to to put an end to their ravages, Edric reſolved to act on the offenſive, and attack their territories in Herefordſhire. Being joined with a body of Welch, which Blethwyn and Rynwellon prince of Powis and North Wales, ſent to his aſſiſtance, he waſted all the country as far as the bridge upon the Lugge, and returned home triumphant with a conſiderable booty.

Though the antient hiſtorians have thought theſe actions the only ones worthy of a minute deſcription, yet it is evident that the diſcontent was general; ſeveral inſurrections were rais'd in different parts of the kingdom, which were with difficulty ſuppreſſed by the joint forces of Odo and the earl of Hereford. The public reſentment was carried ſo high, that Coxo, earl of Northumberland, was ſlain by his own vaſſals, becauſe he would not head them in an inſurrection. Coxo was not the only victim of the nation's fury, great numbers of the Normans were likewiſe cut off by bands of deſperadoes, who took ſhelter in the woods,

woods, and were not to be come at by regular forces.

William being informed of these disturbances, left the care of Normandy to queen Mathilda and his brother Robert, and arrived in England * just time enough to prevent the execution of a plot that threatened destruction to his hopes, and might have occasioned the loss of his crown. The malecontents had entered into a conspiracy to massacre all the Norman forces; Ash-wednesday was the day pitched upon for the perpetration of this scene of misery. On this day it was customary for persons to go to church barefoot and unarmed; and the time of divine service was the instant fixed upon, because the Normans would at that period have been defenceless. The conspiracy was so general, that it was almost impossible to have kept it a secret; and it is probable, that the private intelligence William had received of it, had hastened his return. His presence, which was sooner than was expected, broke all the measures of the conspirators, who retired into the North, and having fortified the city of Durham, made it their head quarters, and set his power at defiance.

Whether

* Dec. 6th, A. D. 1061. He landed at Winchelsea.

Whether these attempts of the English to recover their liberties, destroyed the mutual confidence, which seemed to exist between him and the English, or his disgust was only affected, it is certain that he never behaved towards them with his former openness and generosity, but formed, or rather continued his resolution of dispossessing them of all their estates, and distributing them among the Normans.

A design of this nature was necessary to be concealed, in order to render it practicable; and William who persisted in carrying it into execution, made use of the greatest art to keep it a secret, at the very time he was endeavouring to bring it to perfection. Amidst the most engaging caresses, and the warmest professions of service, he had this point in view, and gained it by degrees, being no less a master in the art of dissimulation, than he was in constancy, vigour and courage. On coming over he completed the distribution of lands to his followers, and, on this occasion * Roger Montgomery, whom he left regent in

* He was son of Hugh de Monte Gomerico, by Joceline, daughter to Weva, sister of Gunora and Turloff her husband: he married Mabil, daughter and heiress of William de Belesino, by whom he had five sons, one

in Normandy during his first expedition, received Chichester and Arundel, and sometime after the earldom of Shrewsbury. In order to obviate the ill effects of this measure, he restored their lands to every one who had been dispossessed of them during the late troubles.

He kept his Christmas at London, where he was received with great pomp, and all the external marks of respect and affection; the English prelates and nobility, who were assembled on this occasion, were treated with great civility, received all they asked, and were indulged in every proposal. The Welch likewise paying their compliments to him on this festival, were received with equal honours; but in order to create a distrust between them and the English, were advised to be on their guard against the treachery and perfidiousness of the latter.

Edwin, the most powerful and popular nobleman in England, was attached to his interest by the promise of his daughter in marriage, and he had such a number of fortresses in all parts of the kingdom, that he was under no apprehensions from the tumultuous efforts of the discontented.

As

one of which, named Robert de Belesino, from a castle in Perche, succeeded him in his mother's jointure.

William had almoſt tired the patience of the Normans, and being unable to put them off any longer, was obliged to contrive expedients to ſatisfy their demands. The meaſures he choſe for this purpoſe, were ſuch as ſtill increaſed the popular odium, and being added to his neglect of puniſhing the regents for their oppreſſions, gave the Engliſh very unfavourable ideas of his government.

The expedient William made uſe of to raiſe money, was the revival of Danegelt, a tax which always had been borne with great uneaſineſs by the ſubject, and was aboliſhed by Edward the Confeſſor, in order to render himſelf popular. Though he foreſaw that this tax would occaſion great diſſatisfaction, yet he was determined to have it levied. Aldred, archbiſhop of York, who had, previous to this ſtep, loved the king with the moſt intenſe affection, called him his ſon, and was laviſh in his praiſe, no ſooner beheld this exertion of arbitrary power, than he endeavoured to cruſh it in its embrio. He ſent meſſengers to William with remonſtrances, and endeavoured to diſſuade him from putting his deſign into execution, by repreſenting the ill conſequences which would neceſſarily flow from it. His meſſengers were admitted with great difficulty, and being anſwered in a haughty

manner, were sent back to the primate, who was so much offended with the king's treatment, that he anathematized him and all his family.

William, not intimidated with his threats, nor persuaded by his arguments, persisted the more obstinately in his designs, and levied the tax with greater vigour.

* These proceedings intimidated that part of the nation which was nearest his court, garrisoned by his creatures, and more immediately at the mercy of a standing army. But the more northern and western counties of Cornwal and Devonshire revolted, and Exeter refused to acknowledge the king, or to receive a Norman garrison, though they were willing to submit to the tax.

William, who was both too haughty and too polite to receive terms from his subjects, marched immediately, through the depth of winter to besiege the place, but when he was within four miles of the city was met by the magistrates with offers of submission, and received hostages as a pledge of their sincerity. While the magistrates were thus employed, the populace who had not given their consent to their measures renounced their conduct, and raised a tumult at their gates against the king. Githa,

* A. D. 1068.

mother

mother to king Harold, who was at that time in the city of Exeter, is ſuſpected of having been the cauſe of this commotion, and the principal perſon who encouraged the inhabitants to perſiſt in it. The king highly incenſed at theſe proceedings, but not willing to undertake the ſiege of the place, till he had tried what other inſtances of ſeverity would do, put out the eyes of one of his hoſtages in the ſight of the deſendants. But finding that this had no effect on their minds, he inveſted the place, carried on his approaches in form, ordered his battering engines to play, and began to undermine the walls. The inſolence of the citizens ſoon gave way to their fears, and more ſuppliant now than they had been affrontive before, they ſent out deputies to ſue for mercy, and ſurrendered themſelves at diſcretion.

How much ſoever the king had been determined to reſentment, the remonſtrances of the clergy, the dictates of ſound policy, and the affectation of clemency, got the better of his anger, and inſtead of putting the rebels to death, he not only pardoned them, but likewiſe ſaved them from being plundered by his ſoldiers.

The pardoning of ſo grievous an affront, ſerved to aggrandize his character, and illuſtrate his real or affected magnanimity; but not confiding too much in the terror of his name, he

reſolved to take ſuch precautions as might prevent any future inſurrection. With this view he built a caſtle in the city, ſtrengthened it with a numerous garriſon, and gave the command to Baldwin de Molis, ſon of Giſlebert, a man of approved fidelity and courage.

From hence he marched into Cornwall, and having eaſily put an end to the commotions there, marched back with his army, which he ſent into quarters, and going to Wincheſter, celebrated his eaſter in that city. Queen Mathilda or Maude, arriving at this city after the holidays were expired, was crowned on Whitſunday, and was brought to bed that year of a ſon, who was named Henry, and ſucceeded to the crown.

William being loth to part with the immenſe ſums he had raiſed by the * Danegelt, and being

* The enormous ſums that were collected under this title, are really ſurprizing, and it may prove no ſmall ſatisfaction to ſee them collected together in this place.

	Year when paid A. D.	ſums £.
To the Saxon	991	10,000
	994	16,000
	1002	24,000
	1007	36,000
	1012	48,000
	1014	30,000
	1018	72,000
		£ 236,000

If

ing teazed for the payments of the arrears due to his Norman deputies, ſent commiſſaries into every county to take information of thoſe, who had been engaged in the battle of Haſtings, on Harold's ſide, and to confiſcate their eſtates.

This inquiſition, which was the moſt unjuſt that ever was known, was highly exclaimed againſt by the ſufferers; who urged in their defence, that when they took up arms, Harold was in actual poſſeſſion of the throne, and that he had been elected at a time when William's pretenſions were not known; they added, that they had never taken an oath to the duke of Normandy prior to the battle of Haſtings, and conſequently were not liable to have their eſtates confiſcated for bearing arms againſt him. Beſides, had they been really guilty of a rebellion, in appearing at the battle of Haſtings, they had made ample amends for this error in their conduct, by the ſubſequent ſubmiſſion, which had been accepted by him, and engaged a promiſe from him, that he would protect them in their rights and privileges. Theſe reaſons were not only plauſible but ſtrong, and founded on fact. Yet as William did not act at this time on prin-

If to this we add the ſum collected at this time by the conqueror, we ſhall wonder at the opulence of this kingdom, which could then ſupport ſuch grievous burdens, and ſtill remain the moſt opulent nation in Europe.

ciples of juſtice but policy, they made but a weak impreſſion on his mind. He was enabled by the confiſcations to pay his debts, and reward his followers. Beſides which they gave him an opportunity of filling the counties with ſuch perſons as were devoted to his intereſt, and muſt find their account in eſtabliſhing him on his throne.

The Engliſh, who are a people extreamly tenacious of their privileges, and ready at any time to ſacrifice their lives in defence of their liberties, did not tamely ſubmit to their oppreſſions: Paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance were doctrines reſerved for future times; they were born men, and reſolved to die like men; every bias to ſlavery was ſpurned by them as degrading their ſpecies, and with this ſpirit they broke out into open rebellion. This inſurrection was far more formidable than that which had been lately ſuppreſſed in the Weſt; the moſt conſiderable perſons of the kingdom were among the numbers of the conſpirators, and wanted nothing but unanimity to render their deſign effectual.

The people, in the midſt of their diſtreſſes, naturally turned their views towards Edwin and Morcar; they had ſufficient atteſtation of their valour, they confided in their popularity, and did not doubt of ſucceſs, if they would but be induced to declare in their favour. The earls themſelves

themſelves were prepared to their hands for any deſperate attempt; if the diſtreſſes of their country had made no impreſſion in their minds, a motive equally ſtrong, though not equally laudable, REVENGE, drove them to take up arms againſt William.

The End of the FOURTH VOLUME.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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